NATURALIZATION

OF

CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

(A study of the relation of Christian and Chinese idealism and life).

By Frank Rawlinson, M.A., D.D.

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(A study of the relation of Christian and Chinese idealism and life).

By Frank Rawlinson, M.A., D.D.

A missionary to China under the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1902-1921 and under the American Board from 1922 on. Lecturer at various times during the last decade to the Nanking Language School and the North China Union Language School, now Yenching School of Chinese Studies and, during the spring term, 1925, at Union Theological Seminary, New York; Missionary Fellow, Union Theological Seminary, 1924-5; Editor China Mission Year Book 1923-4, of the China Christian Year Book, 1926, and of the Chinese Recorder since 1914.

"A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another."—Jesus.

"Once when Fan Ch'ih asked the meaning of Virtue (仁) the Master (Confucius) replied, 'Love your fellow men'."

"To see the right and not to do it is cowardice."—Confucius.

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To those students and missionaries who by comment and criticism have helped me towards some understanding of the idealism and inner values of Chinese life and thought.

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The Keynote.

"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." Paul.

"I hear much, select the good and follow it." Confucius.

"The missionary should rejoice in every element of truth and goodness that he finds in the religion and the practise of the people with whom he has to deal, seeing that all truth and goodness, wherever found, come through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, however ignorant a person may be of this source. Every religion exists by reason of the truth which is in it, not by virtue of its falsehood." Edinburgh Conference, 1910.

"The fundamental explanation why one doctrine rather than another triumphed during moments of creative struggle is that it served better than the other the needs begotten by the continuously developing and dominant social experience."—Shailer Matthews.

Contents

INTERPRETATIVE FOREWORD.

Pages.

SECTION I. Towards Understanding China.

Chapter I. Christo-Centric Broadmindedness 1
Chapter II. Some of China's Roots 13
Chapter III. Some of China's Life-Sets 26

SECTION II. The Individual, The Family, The People.

Chapter IV. The One and the Many. 39
Chapter V. The Social Heart 53
Chapter VI. China as an Equal 69

SECTION III. Something of China's Spiritual Inheritance.

Chapter VII. The Ethical Universe 85
Chapter VIII. The Golden Rule 100
Chapter IX. The Supreme Being 114

SECTION IV. Christianity and China's Soul.

Chapter X. Some Christian Offerings 132
Chapter XI. China's Answer to Christianity 146
Chapter XII. Will Christianity Survive? 167
Chapter XIII. Finding a Dauntless Conviction 188

APPENDICES 203

INDEX.

Interpretative Foreword

THE contents of this book include, with the exception of chapters I, XII and XIII, the gist of lectures given over a decade or so to the missionary students at the Nanking Language School and the Yenching School of Chinese Studies (formerly the North China Union Language School), material used in a course given at Union Theological Seminary in the spring of 1925, and some of the material used in a short course of lectures delivered to the Theological Department of Vanderbilt University in 1925. In the form as given in this book they summarize my experience in study, intercourse and observation in a missionary career in China of a quarter of a century.

Needless to say my ideas have changed greatly compared with what they were when I first landed in China. Then I came on the assumption that it was my duty to make one particular denomination dominant and eternal. Now I aim to help set up the "Kingdom" as being something vastly bigger and more important than any denomination. The time has come for denominations to be willing to sacrifice their lives for the "Kingdom" as all along they have called on individuals to do.

My purpose in giving these lectures and moulding the gist of them into the form of a book is threefold.

Firstly, I want to promote to some extent understanding between China and the West in general and western Christians and the Chinese in particular. Some things I have said are my own personal opinions. That is their only value. But much of what is in this book must be tested in the light of its historical accuracy. If it is historically correct western Christians must recognize and plan to use it. Much Christian work in China has been, and still is, carried on as though the Chinese had nothing, or at most very little, that, compared with Christian idealism, is worth noting. The Christian task has thus been made unnecessarily laborious and difficult. However vital the actual differences, there are not as many such differences between Christian and Chinese idealism as I, for instance, imagined when I came. My experience in the language schools has shown me that many of the missionaries who have come during the last decade are still where I was twenty-five years ago. I hope, therefore, that a reading of this book will set forward understanding of the, to some extent, overlooked Chinese idealism.

Secondly, I believe that before Christianity can become a widespread, vital force in China there will have to be a synthesis of China's religious experience with that of the Christians. In other words the Chinese will interpret the Christian religion in terms of their own experience. What I have set forth will, I hope, indicate to some extent the lines along which this synthesis of experience may be expected to go. China cannot cut

loose from its past. Christianity cannot cut it loose. I believe that such a syncretism of experience is now beginning. This is the crux of "The Naturalization of Christianity in China," the general theme of this book. The western Christian who desires to work in China, or is willing to assist in that work by supporting it, must get above the fear of this syncretism of experience. God has worked in the experience of the Chinese people. The religion set up by Jesus in Oriental settings has wended its way clean around the world. In China it has come back to the Orient.

To those who read this book it will be obvious that I do not think of the significance of Christianity to China as being primarily or only a matter of superiority or difference of idealism. Neither is it only a more effective scheme for the securing of individual peace or assuring the individual of the eternal preservation of his personality. Both these aspects of religious thought have an important place. To me Christianity, if rightly understood, is primarily a dynamic spirit. In it God, who is a spirit, has revealed his spirit in a human experience and personality. This experience of the spirit of God may be reproduced in all men. To manifest this spirit in all human activities and relationships should be, therefore, the chief task of the adherents of Christianity.

China has ideals which are also included in Christian idealism. Along these lines the two civilizations may move together towards a newer, better and more universal civilization.

There is a Chinese ideal of personality, which might be summarized under the three concepts emphasized by Confucius, Shu(恕), Tsong (忠) and Sing (信). These broadly stated contain these concepts;—sympathetic consideration for others, expressed through reciprocal love; loyalty to one's self and to others; and sincerity. China has a social ideal also which is very old. Its five concepts are Jen (仁), I (義) Li (禮), Tsz (智) and Sing (信). These again broadly interpreted mean:—Universal love; right behavior; social obligations; wisdom; sincerity. All these concepts have in them elements of permanent meaning for humanity, though in some regards they need to be trimmed. Furthermore, China has genuine theistic concepts. Along the lines of these ideals of personality, social relationships and theistic concepts we may confidently look for a synthesis of China's experience with that of the Christians. Fighting this dawning synthesis will do no good. Sympathy with it, however, will provide opportunity for the sympathizers to guide it. China is beginning to think of Christianity in terms of these ideals.

Thirdly, as already hinted at, I hope what is set forth in this book will enable westerners to see how China may contribute to the building up of that Christian civilization for which I have pled in the last chapters. Such a world-wide Christian civilization can only be secured by the weaving together of the good in all civilizations. This is a staggering

task. It is much more difficult than trying to set up a denominational world-empire. Nevertheless this is the task that Christians must aim to work at in cooperation with China. Its very immensity is a challenge big enough for the Christian hope and the divine dynamic.

It is not my purpose to suggest that Christianity must be merged into a new religion. I do believe, however, that Christians must dig deeper into their religion until they experience more fully the pulse and meaning of its central dynamic personality. They, together with Chinese Christians, must get more out of Jesus than they have done in order to attain a spiritual stature and strength equal to their present task. Together they must realize more, and reveal more, of the dynamic value of immediate personal experience of God. This dynamic value must be manifested in a forward march towards a Christian civilization. I incline to the view of some of my friends that western Christianity, as seen in its adherents, is no longer big enough for its world task. All this means changes in Christianity. I am inclined to think that when these changes have taken place and much in Christianity modified thereby, and when its adherents have delved beneath their knotty differences to its fundamental spiritual values and made these their dominating concern, Christianity will appear so different that to many of its adherents, sympathizers and opponents it will indeed look new. As we come into a deeper realization of international brotherhood, fellowship and co-operation we shall enter a bigger realization of God. That will be the keynote of another revival.

Obviously I have put together some of the aspects of Chinese idealism which I have found on its higher levels. This must not be taken to mean that I am oblivious of some of the sadder aspects of China's past and present life. I might, for instance, have compared Chinese ideas of spiritualistic mediums with those recently so prevalent in the west. I did not do so. Neither is worth it. With prevalent superstition in China education will in time deal. Chinese idolatry is a compound of good and bad religious symbolism,—perhaps, most of it good. As China's religious attention is redirected—a stupendous task!—the bad will be rejected and the good retained. I have confined my attention mostly to the higher level of Chinese idealism because it is only on that level that the religious and social syncretism spoken of above can or should take place. If the Chinese are to see in Jesus a fulfilment of their longings they will see it on this level. It is in connection with their ideals of personality, social life and God that he will have for them the most significance.

With the exception of chapters XII and XIII all the chapters in this book have been published serially in *The Chinese Recorder*. For this privilege I wish to express my thanks to my colleagues on the editorial board. One purpose I had in mind was to secure criticisms

of what was in the articles with a view to changes therein if the criticisms called for them. A number of comments have been received. Among them were two criticisms. One correspondent in a Shanghai daily newspaper opposed my opinion that the Chinese are no more prone to lying than the westerners of my experience. That involves a difference of opinion or experience only. It calls for no answer. My opinion stands for what it is worth. In another case a friend drew my attention to an insufficient emphasis on true mysticism as found in Chinese idealism. This criticism is merited. I have at times referred to a mystical tendency in Chinese thought. I have only mentioned cursorily, however, Buddhism. More might be said on this subject. I did not have time to develop the theme further. Furthermore I have not found that the Chinese are much interested in detached individualistic mysticism. However I want to make it clear that I might have said much more on this important theme. This book is not sent forth as in any sense a critical study of original Chinese sources. I have utilized material as it is ordinarily known to the general public and have assumed that any ideal or concept has value apart from the critical questions of its ultimate origin.

Many friends have generously helped me by reading proof and making comments. To all these I am profoundly grateful. Perhaps the one who has done most in this connection is Mr. Gilbert McIntosh, superintendent of the Presbyterian Mission Press. He is a jewel of a cooperator! Other friends will recognize their ideas incorporated in the text. For all such ideas which have slipped through my consciousness onto the pages of this book I am also most grateful. One could hardly, however, deal with the themes treated in this book without thus calling on the ideas of others.

I am acutely aware that in spite of many readings errors have crept into the text. These I shall hope to correct if another edition is called for.

Shanghai, March 19, 1927.

SECTION I. TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING CHINA

Chapter 1. Christo-Centric Broadmindedness

Chapter 2. Some of China's Roots

Chapter 3. Some of China's Life-Sets

CHAPTER I.

Christo-Centric Broadmindedness

"DO the religions of China indicate a sense of need of anything in Christianity?" In some such words was I questioned a year or more ago. I finally ventured this answer. "The religions of China are to some extent utilizing Christian methods of propaganda. But this is accompanied by a rising conviction of the sufficiency of their own systems of religious thought." Buddhists in particular have taken over a phrase frequently used by Christians in recent years and so are now claiming that Christianity is half-way to Buddhism or that Buddhism is the fulfilment of Christianity. We are entering a period of self-conscious propagandic revival on the part of China's long quiescent "faiths." China's religious and philosophic systems are reasserting themselves. A period of keen religious competition is beginning. China is being stirred by these awakening "faiths." Christians must, therefore, needs understand and approach sympathetically these reviving "faiths."

Over against this rising spirit of religious competition, however, is a warm appreciation of the personality of Christ. The genuineness of his spirit and purpose is widely conceded. The anti-Christian sharpshooters direct most of their fulminations against "Christian" practise, but little against the personality of Christ. It is the gap between Christ's spirit and purpose and the Christian spirit and practise that receives most attention. In "La Jeunnesse" for March 1920, Mr. Chen Tu-seu, a progressive scholar, advocated the adoption by China of Christian moral education based on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. Certain eclectic societies are including Christ in their small and select pantheons. Mr. Liang Chi-chao, a reformer who has suffered for his views, is a leading modern exponent of China's ancient lore. He has said, "Mo Tzu is a small (小) Christ . . . Mo Tzu is also a big (大) Marx."[1] Christ's personality evidently has an outstanding significance in the mind of this Confucian scholar. A message and program embodying the spirit and purpose of Christ as thus understood would escape much if not all of the opposition now facing Christianity because of apparent entangling alliances or conjunctions with materialism, imperialism and a disunifying religious practise.

The present attitude of the non-Christian Chinese towards Christianity has three aspects. (1) Anti-Christian *criticism.* (2) Sympathetic *appreciation.* (3) An emerging religious *competition.*

How can or should Christians meet this rising tide of criticism, non-Christian evaluation of Christ and religious competition? At pre-

1. A Critical Survey of Mo Tzu, (墨子學案) Liang Chi-chao, page 43.

sent Christianity in China is like an army holding a besieged position and engaged in watching other armies rather than in pushing forward in adventurous leadership. It is on the defensive. It is marking time. A new plan of campaign is needed. The driving forces now stirring China are coming from outside Christianity. This non-Christian Chinese appreciation of Christ, and the criticism of what are taken to be un-Christlike practises, constitute a call back to unalloyed Christianity. It is a message from those whom the Christians seek to win pointing out the only way they can be won. To meet this challenge the high spirit and high endeavor of Christ must be predominant in Christians. The present situation in China is a call to return to adventurous enthusiasm!

How can the Christian forces disarm the criticism of the anti-Christians, retain the friendship of non-Christian sympathizers and meet wisely the competition of China's reviving religious systems?

Three attitudes are possible. The attitude of Christians within and without China is much less iconoclastic towards the "faiths" of China than it used to be. That is a hopeful change. And yet the old attitude of religious isolation and aloofness that has marked the relation of Christianity to other "faiths" is still in evidence. The Buddhists have several times within recent years invited Christians to their conferences and have listened with courteous attention to their message. Buddhists are trying to understand Christianity. But Christians are making much less effort to understand Buddhism. Dr. K. L. Reichelt through the "Christian Mission to Buddhists" carried on in Nanking since November 1922, has reached many Buddhists and Taoists. But his work has received little recognition from the Christian forces in general. Some Christians are admitting in books and otherwise that there is much good in these other "faiths." But most Christians in China, particularly Western Christians, are acting as though this "good" is no good to them. This complacent aloofness is easily taken for either self-righteous vanity or fear. But why should modern Christians imitate the attitude of the Jews towards the Samaritans and have no "dealings" with other "faiths"? One serious result of this attitude of complacent aloofness tinged with religious vanity is that Chinese Christians find themselves unprepared to cope intelligently with Buddhist propaganda. Thus one flank of Christianity in China is left undefended. Christianity finds itself in no-man's land with one barrage of ignorance behind it and another of criticism in front.

When urging that religious aloofness is a weak front to show to other "faiths" one frequently hears the statement, "We must guard against a weak and nerveless eclecticism." Of course we must! We must guard against anything "weak and nerveless." Eclecticism tends to lump things together indiscriminately. It must be said, however, that present-day Chinese eclecticism tends to put together the good

rather than the bad in the differing systems it espouses. This makes it a more significant competitor. Many Christians conservatively fear that any "dealings" with other "faiths" will leave Christianity without any particular task, color or message. But why? Eclecticism as practised in China does, it is true, mean alliance between "faiths." That is not what we want. And yet why should we fear that under any circumstances the distinctive manifestation of God which marks Christianity will be lost? Can the starlight quench the sunlight?

Independent exclusiveness leaves many Christians unable to defend their faith in the face of other aggressive "faiths." Eclectic inclusiveness tends to leave them lost in the forest of indiscriminate acquiescence in everything. The one weakens our defenses: the other leaves us without direction. Neither is desirable. There is, however, another attitude possible which avoids the dangers in both of these. At the close of a statement setting forth the work of the "Christian Mission to Buddhists" and showing how he and his fellow-workers strove to sympathize with and incorporate the truth in Buddhist symbolism and thought Dr. K. L. Reichelt said, "Strictly Christo-centric and consequently very broad-minded."[2] "Christo-Centric broadmindedness" is taken as the subject of this chapter and the definition of the spirit in which I wish to present certain aspects of Chinese life and thought.

What is Christo-centric broadmindedness? It is not religious aloofness since it begins by admitting the possibility of common emphases or contributions in other "faiths". It is not weakly inclusive since it evaluates everything in the light of Christ's personality. It does not ask men to give up anything that makes for the type of personality which is Christ's. Of course, our attitude to other "faiths" cannot be tested by any definite instructions given by Christ. He gave none. It is a challenging problem left to us to grapple with. In China Christianity is up against religious systems that have again become vital. These inherited "faiths" of China do not aim at persecution. But they propose to make full use of their religious liberty. They are challenging the claim of Christianity as to the *superiority* of its message. Christo-centric broadmindness is a new way to meet a new situation.

Christo-centric broadmindedness has a human and a religious aspect. It involves the frank facing of human and religious facts. It takes account of similarities as well as differences. Christianity has been presented too much in terms of exclusiveness and differences. Religious differences are often the result not of a particular religious dynamic but of social organization. A Christo-centric broadmindedness will always ask of any religious or social idea or practise, Does it or could it help build up a Christ-like personality? Few sincere religionists in

2. The Quest for God, O'Neill, page 188.

China would find that test objectionable. To secure such personalities is the chief aim of Christian effort.

What, then, are some of the steps in a Christo-centric broadminded attitude on the human side?

There is need that those who go to work among people of another civilization than their own keep in mind the *inferiorities* of their own civilization. It is a common and easy error to judge another nation or race by comparing their worst with one's best. This tends towards social and religious vanity. For instance since about 1900 the United States has become the largest supporter of Christian and philanthropic work in China. During the same time homicide, banditry, crime and sexual irregularities are frequently referred to in public as being, in proportion to the population, as bad if not worse in the United States than in China—civil war of course excepted always and everywhere! No data for conclusive comparisons as to the prevalence of such evils in China are available. For instance the total direct cost of crime in the United States is practically equivalent to all the expenses of the Federal Government![3] Opinions will differ according to individual experiences. But the fact remains that while Christianity in the United States is the most active agent in promoting religion and philanthropy throughout the world it fails to curb these social evils within its own borders where it has the right of way. Banditry in China might find some excuse in the high economic pressure obtaining there. In "Christian" America high economic standards reduce this excuse to a greasy rag.

To curb our impatience with China's slow progress in reform we need to recall constantly how recent are the dates on which some social and political reforms were achieved in "Christian" lands. The outstanding growth of the scientific spirit and religious liberty, said by many to have a causal as well as a concomitant relationship, have taken place within little more than a century: the roots, of course, go farther back. The first girls' high school in the United States was started in 1826: the first girls' school in China was established in 1897: previous to this Chinese girls could to some extent be tutored at home. National education in England was started about 1834. It was not, however, till 1870 that the government got effectively behind it. China's *modernized* governmental system of education began in 1902. It was long preceded by a national civil service examination open to all but a small minority of the population.[4] Professor Twiss, an American educational expert working under the "Society for the Advancement of Education" says, that China's educational system made more progress in the past thirty years than was made by public education in America

3. World's Work, December, 1925, page 136.
4. The Government of China, Hsieh, page 143.

during its first thirty years.[5] In England the right of self-government was granted to towns in 1835 and male suffrage was made practically universal by being finally granted to agricultural laborers in 1884. Up till near the beginning of the 19th century the sale of seats and bribery of members in Parliament was customary. It was at about the same time also that the great English journals gained sufficient freedom to be effective in public affairs. Jails in England were then a "chaos of cruelty and the foulest immorality."[6] At the beginning of the 18th. century by far the greater part of the English people could not read or write. Religious tests for admission to offices or degrees in the English universities were not abolished till 1872. The mechanical inventions that revolutionized industry took place about the middle of the 18th century.

One sometimes hears the question, "What is the matter with China that after two or three thousand years of history she has made no further progress?" That question needs to be asked with much more discrimination than usually underlies it. For students of China's arts and institutions are by no means convinced of wholesale Western superiority in these regards. And even in realms in which the West takes the greatest pride she is only a generation or two ahead of China. And counting as life moves on in its full sweep China will soon catch up in these. What then?

Western Christians in China often refer to the undesirable condition of women in China. It is a subject that needs to be mentioned with soft and careful words. Chinese women are, it is true, behind their Western contemporaries in public freeness and education. But it was only a generation's yesterday (1869) in which John Stuart Mill wrote of English women, "but no slave is a slave to the same lengths, and in so full a sense of the word, as a wife."[7] Many of the disabilities of women in the "Christian" West have been removed, others have become obsolete. Yet their enfranchisment is still a new phenomenon. And within recent months quite earnest discussions went on in the Southland of the United States as to the capacity or rights of women to preach. Furthermore it is well to keep in mind that the social equalization of women which took place in the West during the 19th century was as much the result of the industrial revolution which changed the economic status of women as of anything else. Else why did it not take place long before? This point of the relative position of Chinese and Western women must be dealt with softly!

Quite aptly may the Chinese also ask, "Why did it take *so long* for the principles of Christianity to stimulate these reforms in those lands where it had the right of way?"

5. Science and Education in China, Twiss, page 11
6. Short History of English People, Green, page 360.
7. Readings in Modern European History, Robinson and Beard, page 476.

There are also common world problems which must be kept in mind if Western Christians would avoid the charge of self-righteousness. The "Christian" West has no solutions to offer to China as to the social snarls of race prejudice, war, narcotic addiction, industrial discontent, or the stabilization of family life.

Take war. The Chinese people have a stronger prejudice against militarism than Westerners. They have looked down on not up to the soldier. The Confucian principle of love or "benevolence" is against it. Yet Mo Tzu who most definitely opposed militarism once helped a state to prepare itself for military defense. The pacifistic ideals of Mo Tzu do not seem to have been generally popular in China. The Confucian rulers have made use of military force whenever it suited their political whims. The people have raised the God of War to a pinnacle almost as high as that of Confucius, and filled many temple niches with martial heroes. The Buddhists, however, are pacifists though some of their temple defenders are of martial origin. Liang Chi-chao interprets and commends Mo Tzu as being against military *invasion* but in favor of military *self-protection*.[8] This is essentially the prevalent position of the "Christian" West, a position taken much later than by some Chinese philosophers. This principle has not yet solved the problem of war in either China or the West. A Chinese after listening to the extremely diverse opinions of Christians in a discussion on war, queried, "Why did you not *settle* this problem before coming to convert China?"

Take also industrial discontent. Chinese labor is restless. This restlessness will undoubtedly increase. What can one expect in view of the terrible economic pressure under which most Chinese strive to make ends meet? In the United States, on the contrary, economic conditions and standards of living are high. The protection of these standards of living is the aim of much legislation. And yet industrial discontent is steadily rising also in this land of protected standards of living. It has been computed that there have been in the last few years on an average nine or ten strikes a day in the United States, a majority of which have been over wages.[9] And that in a population one-third that of China!

Then there is the narcotic drug fight. This furnishes much food for mental Fletcherizing. At the Geneva Conferences (November, 1924) the most persistent pressure for drastic action against the production of narcotic producing plants and for stringent measures against the traffic came from the Orient. And it was finally the representatives of a "Christian" nation who blocked forward action. Moral leadership in the anti-narcotic campaign seemed to pass out of the hands of "Christian" nations. In making this statement I do not intend, of

8. A Critical Survey of Mo Tzu, Liang, page 27.
9. Causes of Industrial Unrest, Fitch, page 7.

course, to minimize the culpability of other than "Christian" nations or individuals for their part in the traffic.

The fact is that whatever the efforts of some Christian groups to do battle with certain social evils "Christian" civilization does not bring to China any generally accepted solutions for or policies against war, racial prejudice, the narcotic traffic, industrial discontent or family instability. The rising divorce rate in "Christian" lands is a sign of a weakening of family stability. The "family is now less stable than it has been at any time since the beginning of the Christian era."[10] This development has reached its most advanced stage in the United States. Such social problems can be solved only through international cooperation. But so far they have not yet been solved in and between "Christian" nations. That fact, whatever their theological belief about the present world, should keep Christians humble. It is quite common to charge China's economic, political and social "backwardness" to the inadequacy of her religious systems. In "Christian" lands, however, one religion has had the right of way. To what then shall be charged this failure to solve these common social problems in and between "Christian" lands?

Where shall we find a basis for Christo-centric broadmindedness? It can be found only by learning to think of other peoples and "faiths" in terms of *mutual virtues*. A right attitude between the citizens of different nations is only possible when they compare the best that each has. The Chinese quite frequently speak of Western civilization as materialistic. This is partly due to the fact that the pressure of mechanistic militaristic appliances is most prominent in their minds when thinking of the present international treaties. The conjunction in these treaties of the right to propagate Christianity with the legalization of opium and a policy of military force helps along this idea. It is strengthened by the constant reiteration by press and individuals that the United States is out to protect her standards of living, and statements like that in an editorial of the World's Work for November, 1925, (page 22) "The essence of American life is more brains and mechanical power, less human drudgery, and a higher standard of living." That is, of course, purely a utilitarian idealism. Many Westerners, on the other hand, are prone to think of the Chinese as superstitious and lacking any worthwhile idealism. Such see only China's narrow twisted, dirty streets, and the gray colors of closely enwalled dwellings. And yet, as a Chinese friend recently said to me, "Back of America's materialistic achievements must be a spiritual drive." He saw truly. Likewise back of and somewhat obscured by China's superstitious notions is a fascinating and uplifting idealism. As a result of this spiritual drive back of Western materialism there has gone out into the world that great philanthropic effort known as the foreign missionary enter-

10. Principles of Sociology, Ross, page 386.

prise. The West has moved upon the East not only in terms of materialistic interests or achievements but also in terms of a humanitarian and religious idealism which has helped to arouse the East to take its place in a world changing rapidly under the influence of scientific knowledge and industrial readjustment. The humanitarian idealism of the West is sharing with the East its increased mastery over material forces and conditions. Furthermore this humanitarian idealism is helping the East unlock its buried treasures of religious and idealistic thought. It is also aggressively studying the unsolved problems of war, race relations, industrial unrest, narcotic addiction and family life.

The Chinese feel likewise that they have a contribution to make to the world, though in this as in some other things they are about two or three generations behind the West. While talking with a group of missionaries and Chinese recently the question was raised, "But what has China to contribute to the world?" The Chinese present suggested the following emphases as possible contributions. (1) The fuller personalization of human relationships. (2) Social responsibility as over against excessive individualism. (3) Loyalty (忠). (4) Reciprocity (恕). The meditative or contemplative aspect of the religious life, æsthetic ideals and achievements might also be mentioned. For instance Christians ask God to bless their wars. Buddhists and Confucianists do not make this prayer to the founders of their particular systems. Perhaps when Christians pray as earnestly against war as for it its elimination will be easier.

Christo-centric broadmindedness has a particular relation to matters religious. Some steps in this connection will, therefore, be mentioned.

Christians differ among themselves on things considered highly important. Sincerity is, however, generally conceded to one's theological opponents. Confucianists and Buddhists may likewise sincerely hold their viewpoints. Sometimes, indeed, wrong views may be sincerely held. A broadminded Christian should recognize and act on this mutual religious sincerity. Only on this foundation of a mutual recognition of sincerity can friendly intercourse between those of different "faiths" be set up.

Again in dealing with other "faiths" Christians should look for similarities and not emphasize differences only. The Buddhists, for instance, have emphasized separation from the world as necessary to the development of the spiritual life. This has been and still is for many Christians an important aspect of spiritual living. Both have espoused and practised personal devotional religion. Christianity, Buddhism and Confucianism all lay tremendous emphasis on the primacy of moral character. Other similarities will be developed later.

This good in other "faiths" that we have or may find should be recognized as coming from the one source of good, God. Where else

could it come from? To look for the good in other "faiths" therefore, is to look for the workings of God. It is to search for the witness God has not forgotten to give to Himself and to make use of it. To the extent, therefore, that we recognize good in other "faiths" we recognize that God has worked through them. The way God has worked among other peoples may add something to our understanding of human relationships and of God. And Christians may confidently expect that through groups of Oriental Christians utilizing their own spiritual inheritances God will become more meaningful to Christians of all races. No race has fathomed all that God means. Only when men of all races combine their understandings of God in the light of Christ will the fullness of God become clear to us. We can only understand Christ's revelation of God as we understand His workings in and through all races and relationships of men. The present World Christian Movement is shot through and through with thoughts about the way God has worked in and through one race. To see God through the eyes of interracial equality and brotherhood will magnify the conception of God. Once men thought there were only about 6,000 stars. Now they know there are millions. They were always there. The telescope has widened the arc of our sight. To see God through a real working interracial brotherhood will show more of Him. The World Christian Movement is a bigger telescope for the soul.

The Western Christian, furthermore, comes to China with religious ideas systematized in creeds and theologies to a degree far beyond that existing in the New Testament and in China. I know of nothing resembling a creed in China unless it be the simple formula presented to Buddhists for daily living. Dr. W. A. P. Martin in "The Lore of Cathay" has translated an anonymous and dateless "Chart of Chinese Ethics." It is a very inclusive analysis of ethical idealism. But it was never set up as a creed. Much of Chinese thought is unsystematized. The value of Chinese idealism cannot be tested by the still incomplete efforts of non-Chinese Christians through two milleniums to systematize their ideas. Western Christians tend to make a fetish of systematization in and for itself. The only way to understand the good in Chinese thought is to apply to it the same process that has characterized the systematization of Christian ideas. In order to show how the ideas of God and righteousness grew in ages past and even under conditions of spiritual and social backwardness it is customary to take these ideas and put them together with a view to showing their cumulative significance for the present. This is taken to be a legitimate method. Much in the Psalms written by David has a value as indicating the strivings of the soul after God quite apart from his idolatrous practises and adulterous downfall. Likewise the monotheistic ideas of Abraham are of value apart from the quite unsatisfactory way he treated his con-

cubine and their child. In studying this development of worthful ideas in the past those of lesser worth or contrary significance slip into the background. This method of approach is open to abuse. Nevertheless it enables us to emphasize and find a fitting place for ideas of the past of worth to the present. We may deal with Chinese life and thought in the same manner. We may search for and put together the good in the Chinese mind, note its cumulative effect and then try to discover how it may have a more dominating place in the directing of life. This is something that later I propose to do.

Again Christians should be willing to compare the good in other "faiths" with that they hold to find out where cooperation is possible for the common good. In this way Christianity should be cooperative not competitive.

This all, of course, involves a willingness on the part of Christians to submit the "truth as they hold it" (another frequently used phrase) to any test, scientific or otherwise. The failure of Christians to invite Buddhists to Christian conferences to explain their views looks as though Christians fear the testing of truth. But what test can hurt the truth? Hesitancy to submit truth to a test looks strangely like uncertainty as to whether it is truth! The Christian should also be willing to seek facts first and always. The New Testament does not teach science. Yet the God of the New Testament is the same God now being further unveiled in the natural realm by science. Christians spend too much time fighting for the truth. It can fight for itself! Religious aloofness looks like a fear that truth is not self-sustaining. What is true will win over any test. The Christo-centric broadminded Christian need fear no test.

The truth, then, is not upheld by complacent exclusionism. Christians may share a search for God with sincere adherents of other "faiths" and depend on God to protect Himself. God or truth do not need human protection. Because much of modern religious controversy looks like an attempt to protect God it results in belittling Him. If God thus needs man's protection then He is even more finite than H. G. Wells makes Him out to be. Truth like light will enter if we open the doors and windows of our hearts. It cannot be kept out. To say to adherents of other "faiths," "We want to share with you the search for God," is to have an entree into their sympathy otherwise much more difficult to obtain. To be Christo-centrically broadminded, therefore, is to set God more free to work His will.

There is, after all, considerable overlapping of the psychology of religious aloofness as shown towards other "faiths" and that which marks the relations of some Protestant groupings and particularly as seen in the mutual aloofness existing between the three great branches of Christianity—the Greek Orthodox, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. This aloofness is the result of stiffly exclusive convictions. Many

Protestants are little if any more willing to share the search for God with Roman Catholics than with those of other "faiths." Mere exclusiveness thus becomes one of the marks of truth. The assumption is that superiority of comprehension of truth justifies aloofness from other "faiths" because they are all error and from groups or branches within one's own faith because they have error mixed with their truth. Out of this springs the idea that religious competition rather than cooperation is necessary or inevitable. To the stiffness of religious conviction is added the motive of the self-preservation of the group. This psychology of religious competition and group self-preservation is the root of the infinite divisibility of Protestantism. Within Protestant Christianity are being built up "empires" (a word sometimes used by denominational leaders) that have been and still are imperialistic and competitive as regards other Protestant "empires" and other "faiths". The psychology of religious competition and aloofness should give place to that of cooperative and humble searching for and sharing of the truth. It is a change in psychology that is needed not a change in actual religious values.

What has been said should not, of course, be taken as suggesting that an interreligion alliance is possible or even desirable.

It will lead to humility to realize that just as the "Christian" nations have not yet solved the great social problems in and between themselves so the great branches of Christianity have not yet solved the supreme problem of spiritual unity. Fortunately the stiff aloofness that marks the relations of various groups within Christianity is weakening to some extent. Likewise openmindedness on the part of Christians towards other "faiths" is emerging.

Christianity thus stands before the world of men as a religion striving to make itself world-wide and directing its attention to and calling on men everywhere to worship one God and Savior. But Christianity has not yet found the way whereby the worshippers of the one God may achieve unity of spirit. The denominations and branches within Christianity are contiguous but not, generally speaking, in communion. They are unified as to the object of worship but disunified as to the spirit and way in which that worship should be carried on. This discussion leads inevitably to the disquieting question, Can Christianity demonstrate to China the possibility of spiritual unity among men? This question will be referred to again later.

The Western "Christian" world has not been so eminently successful in understanding God as manifested in Christ that it can afford to ignore any chance to understand Him better. Furthermore Christians should aim to promote the spiritual life on a higher plane than that of criticism of or competition with other "faiths." These are the weapons of religious defense. Christianity must get out of the trenches. Its spiritual dynamic must have free play. The emphasis must be not on

Christ's exclusive uniqueness but on his unique inclusiveness. Christians may enter into the common search suggested above confident that they have what the search is after, to some extent at least, and yet realize that when those of other "faiths" find the truth through this common searching it will mean all it possibly can, and that this search will also enlarge their present spiritual values and discover to them new depths of spiritual comprehension.

The truth is not dimmed by being sought in a spirit of humble searching with those of other "faiths". Christ will lose none of His significance because His followers are free from religious vanity. Christianity should be a challenge to men everywhere to search for spiritual reality. The goal of the search will not be missed because sometimes sincere non-Christians set its terms. Men will never fail to find God when they seek Him sincerely. Christo-centric broadmindedness, therefore, is a willingness to search for God in any way desired by sincere men and women. It has to do not so much with deciding what is to be sought for as the methods used in the search. Sincere Christians will always courteously examine what others deem aspects of truth. Of course such a search will be long. It will call for patience, and self-restraint. It is harder—much harder—than calling on people to accept one's own ideas without listening to theirs. But there is no other really adequate way to win men to the search for God?

CHAPTER II.

Some of China's Roots

CHINA'S political, industrial and social life is changing. Furthermore China is trying to fit into a changing world. This means entrance into a puzzling and new experience for many Chinese. Yet many of China's present difficulties and desires are rooted in her past. China is changing very leisurely. And neither China or the world knows precisely what is taking place in the other. Once in culture China was ahead of the West. Now industrially and scientifically China is trying to catch up. "Why is this readjustment on the part of China so slow?" "What is the matter with China?" Such are some of the queries flung out by Westerners who find it irksome waiting for China to catch up in her own way and time.

Easy answers to these impatient queries are not wanting. "China lacks capacity for modern political organization." Thus speaks the diplomat. To this some merchants add, "A weak sense of treaty obligation." Some missionaries seek to wrap all China's shortcomings and difficulties in the idea of "sin," a term which covers a multitude of vague things. China's difficulties, however, are not due to any particular Chinese degree or type of sinfulness. The "weak sense of treaty obligations" is simply the obverse side of a strong sense of human rights. The failure to make Western democracy work in China up to date is due in large part to the unfitness for China of Western ideas and modes of democracy. The Chinese have been trying to imitate the political life of the West. But they are now trying to be themselves. Meanwhile international trade is not going ahead as fast as everybody would like. This is one cause of Western uneasiness over China's slow readjustment. China's chief problem is, as a matter of fact, finding out how to build up a new mind and order on the old ones.

What are some of the roots buried deeply in China's past that explain, in part at least, her present hesitating readjustment? The most obvious is often overlooked. China's chief difficulty is her human bulk. She staggers under a tremendous weight of folk. This makes China's task of readjustment more stupendous than any Western nations with their still unsolved social and industrial problems and half-blown democracies have ever known. For this reason China's problem of readjustment is outside the range of Western experience. Western nations cannot understand it. Hence an impatience which is sometimes flippant. When China has found working solutions for her colossal perplexities then the rest of the world will have something to learn. But China's human bulk is not her only drag. There are others.

China is politically inarticulate. Of that fact the nations are more acutely conscious than of anything else about China. It obstructs their plans. But political inarticulateness is not necessarily equivalent to political incapacity. On the latter point judgment must be reserved. Barring organization for the passing on of taxes or tribute to the central government and a national civil service examination China's political life has always been loosely organized. The governmental ideas that held China for nearly three thousand years had their roots in an agricultural life.[11] While China has been slowly but surely urbanized yet her government has not changed till quite recently to meet this situation. The Western democracies the Chinese have tried to copy have their main roots in urban life.

Yet China has long known and practised fundamental democratic principles. Rural communities enjoyed considerable autonomy. The village temple was often a "sort of local self-governing council."[12] The village elder was elected by the clans which in turn were in their choice then as now influenced by community discussion, which though not expressed in public meetings was and still is a vital factor. Many things are settled in China on the basis of a public opinion that has not learned or needed to express itself through the mechanical process of balloting.

Observations of and acquaintance with Chinese family and community life extending over nearly a quarter of a century have convinced me that family and community control are not nearly so rigid and tyrannical as some outsiders think. In most cases the settlement of individual and group questions is preceded by free, copious and effective discussion. The middle man who acts as matrimonial agent also acts as transmitter of opinions between those concerned in the proposed marriage. Street brawls are often ended amicably through discussion in the presence of and through the arbitration of some sympathetic passer-by.

Furthermore the democratic idea of community cooperation is known and practised in these rural autonomies. Phenix Village, situated in the northern part of Kwangtung Province, for instance, has six community associations. These are the Mutual Aid Club, the Parent Burial Association, the Society for the Manufacture of Sugar, the Irrigation Club, the Boxing Club, and the Music Club.[13] These community associations might fittingly be characterized under the head of "social service." Considerable cooperation is found within the family life also and a real vocational cooperation within the guilds.

Public loyalty or spirit, however, tended to be confined to limited clan or community relationships. To extend these limited loyalties to

11. The Government of China, Hsieh, page 343.
12. China of the Chinese, Werner, page 163.
13. Country Life in South China, Kulp, page 189.

national interests is one of China's modern problems. Nevertheless this essentially democratic community spirit has undoubtedly influenced the revolutionary changes which have taken place in China since 1911. This is shown in two facts. First, ready public acceptance of the idea of making China a democracy. Second, when Yuan Shi Kai and his sycophantic supporters tried to turn the governmental clock backward and revert to an autocratic government public opinion successfully blocked their effort. Neither of these expressions of Chinese opinion would have been possible had the Chinese people not been psychologically democratic to some extent. China's difficulty in setting up a democratic government is not, therefore, due so much to the absence of understanding of the fundamental meaning of democracy as it is to a lack of democratic machinery whereby local democratic ideas may be applied to national affairs.

In two aspects, however, Western democratic philosophy does cut across Chinese local government psychology. First public opinion expresses itself through the family rather than the individual. Second it expresses itself through group cooperative organizations and not through political parties. It is probable that this local community government is somewhat more applicable to national affairs than was the town meeting plan of government in the West. For it is in essence representative. In any event it has the psychological roots of such government. Thus the psychology of the most widely known type of local government in China is to some extent at least adapted to Western political machinery. It differs in that opinion is expressed through community more than individual action. But securing an adequate national political machinery is a task of tremendous difficulty. No other people ever had one as big. The connection between this local government psychology and the national government will have to be made before China's present national political problems can be finally solved.

In all probability China's democratic government will be built up on this Chinese local autonomy psychology. In this connection China has two most knotty problems to solve. First to enlarge limited group loyalties to include national interests. Second either to change her local self-control psychology to fit into the individualistic political theories of the West or adapt her national government to the old psychology. Both these problems are outside of the present experience of Western nations. And China has not yet made up her mind which road to follow. Furthermore local communities have never thought much about the central government as serving them in any way. The relation has been the other way round. Hence it is difficult to secure in China a widespread realization of the important fact, well known in the West, that the Government can and should be made to render service to provincial and even small groups and that the pressure therefor must come from

the people. There is so far no machinery to register that pressure quietly and effectually on a national scale. Furthermore the Chinese people as a whole have not yet acquired the habit of registering their opinion as to the activities of the central government. Rebellions have, it is true, been frequent and often widespread. These were a sort of dumb protest against some national or natural catastrophe which it was assumed was the result of non-virtuous behavior on the part of the ruler. Rebellion, indeed, came to be looked on as a legitimate form of registering popular dissapproval of the head of the central government. It probably failed in securing a change in personnel as often as it succeeded. It never aimed to change the basic character of the national government.

China has never been well coordinated nationally. Why? In addition to the fact that political theory and practise was basically related to agricultural conditions until quite recently, is the utter inadequacy of those means of communication which are the very fibre of Western democratic life. Public opinion did, it is true, often express itself through the literati and gentry.[14] But there were lacking communications whereby the people might either see or understand as a whole the needs and activities of the government or nation and peaceably express their opinion thereon. Political visibility has always been low in China. What would happen to the democracies of the West if they were suddenly reduced to China's sparse communications? For Western democracy is linked up as much if not more with the efficiency of existing communications than with any racial capacity for democratic procedure. China's capacity for democratic government cannot be judged, therefore, until these conditions are met.

The chief difficulty, therefore, facing China in the reorganization of the political life is inadequate political machinery. China has made notable advances toward the unification of the spoken and written language, transportation, post office facilities, and press. In spite, however, of heroic efforts and the phenomenal success already achieved in the promotion of the vernacular, China still suffers from the lack of a unified language: political understanding on a national scale is, therefore, frustated even in connection with this most common means of communication. Comparison between other typical means of communication is also suggestive. Between 1918 and 1921 the number of letters distributed in China increased over 1900%. Yet as early as 1915 the per capita distribution of letters in the United Kingdom was about 9,000 times greater than in China. In 1923 588 publications of all kinds were registered in the Chinese post office, of which 46% were dailies. Most important cities in China now have a daily paper. The circulation of some of these has grown very rapidly during recent years. And yet about three years ago the United Kingdom was, in daily and

14. The Government of China, Hsieh, page 390.

weekly newspapers alone, supplied about 200 times better than China in all and any publications: the United States was about 150 times better off in this regard. Furthermore the still widely prevalent illiteracy in China limits the power of the press, and the opportunity to master national problems. Compared with its possibilities and the numerical need the press in China is still a babe in arms. The Chinese are travelling about their own country much more than was formerly possible. This is one important contact for the transmission of ideas. The opportunity for railroad development is unbounded. But achievement up to date is almost ludricous compared with the need and the possibilities. A few years ago in the United Kingdom the mileage of railroads per capita was about 375 times as great as it now is in China: in the United States in 1911 it was about 1,300 times as great as in China.

To get the Chinese closer together in thinking and understanding through education and increased communications is a primary need. The West is now so accustomed to these means of communication that they cannot think apart from them. Hence arises another Western difficulty in thinking through China's problems. China's political incoordination is not necessarily due to lack of political capacity. For one root difficulty is this inadequacy of communications. Three essential needs of China are, therefore, the final unification of the written and spoken language, the popularization of education and the adequate development of communications.

Another root difficulty is poverty. This is the cause of much of existing banditry and unrest. Hungry people become desperate. Probably fifty percent of the Chinese live below the margin of physiological and economic safety. They teeter on the verge of starvation. A large proportion of the money earned has to go for food alone, about seventy percent.[15] The struggle to fill the rice bowl is fierce and engrossing. Lack of national vitality in China is due to some extent to the lowered physical vitality resultant on this intense struggle for physical existence. It is significant that present day Chinese leadership is blessed with greater economic advantages than the masses of the people.

It is sometimes assumed that the cupidity of the Chinese is greater than that of westerners. But my experience leads me to the opposite conclusion. The lure of the elusive rice bowl does, however, tend to focus attention upon physical necessities to the obscuring of spiritual aspirations and national needs. For the urge of physical necessity in China is sharpened and heightened to the point where it is painful. The fear of starvation dulls the desire for spiritual values.

One distinction between Western economic life and that in China is that whereas in the West the principle struggle is over the size of

15. Chinese Recorder, December, 1923, page 739 and February, 1926, page. 147. also "Readings in Economics For China," Remer, Commercial Press, page 235-263.

the surplus in China it centres on getting a sufficiency. In China people are poor because there are not enough necessities to go around.

An interesting psychological observation bearing on Christian work may be made here. There are two outstanding social influences in China. First that of the head of the clan or family who usually controls the financial resources. Second that of the teacher, who is usually not financially significant. In the modern missionary the economic and the teaching functions are combined. This dual influence has a psychological significance greater than is often realized.

The causes given for this heavy burden of poverty vary. Some say over-population is the chief one. But it appears to be still an unsettled question as to whether or not China's available land is overpopulated. It is also an obvious fact that China has never, to any great extent, developed her natural resources. Her buried wealth has been ignored. In the West it is this development of natural resources through scientific experiment and mechanical contrivances which together have speeded up production and brought about a decrease of poverty, though even in the West poverty has far from disappeared. The inadequacy of communications in China, furthermore, makes famines almost inevitable. Chinese records show that 1,068 famines occurred between 1644 and 1911, 267 years, and that on an average there has been one famine a year for the last two thousand years.

The chief difference between China's economic civilization and that of the West has been the power-machine. And even now with power-machine industry making rapid strides in China most of the industries are still in the handicraft stage. But why did the Chinese not discover the use of steam and electricity? With either of these they could have put the hand loom and iron together and have had a power loom: they could have put together the cart and iron and evolved a train. For early trains in the West were nothing but coaches on iron rails pulled by crude steam contrivances.

One answer sometimes given to the above question is that the Chinese are not scientific. This answer is superficial. It does not distinguish between the presence or absence of scientific capacity and the lack of scientific experience. The Chinese do lack scientific experience. Their scientific capacity has lain dormant—judgment on them in this regard must be suspended. Certainly the Chinese have not lacked inventive capacity. Waterwheel, bridges, looms, historical references to an incipient flying car, iron ships and the wide use of metals, all show inventive ability. Inventive geniuses must at one time have loomed large in the public eye. For the Book of Rites contains an old law against them. It was ordered that those "using. . . wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements thus raising doubts among the multitude: all who

used or formed such things were put to death".[16] Whether or not this extraordinary attempt to discourage inventive activity was due to the jealousy of overlords or to a sincere desire to prevent social disturbances it is not possible to say. But evidently it appeared desirable to curb inventive geniuses.

It is worth while noting at this point that inventions and books do not appear to have been either patented or copyrighted, both means of exploitation for the benefit of the inventor or author. This may have been due to the absorption of the individual in clan and family life or the influence of China's ethical idealism or both. In any event the strength of the motive of personal benefit through discoveries was reduced to a minimum. This motive has played a conspicuous part in the West. And it has not always been the discoverers of scientific facts who have profited by their application to practical needs. The exploiters were often men of lesser calibre than the inventors or discoverers. One explanation of the difficulties experienced by Westerners in China over the question of copyrights for books is that the Chinese never looked on a book when once published as private property. In this as in other respects the rights of private property played little or no part.

But there still remains the fact that the Chinese have not developed scientific research. There are tales aplenty of scholars, poets, painters and even of the *despised* warrior, but tales of inventors are few and far between and of long ago. Some discoverers have been canonized as lesser deities, it is true, as for instance the wife of Huang Ti who taught or is supposed to have taught the use of the silkworm. Yet there are not wanting germs of scientific theories. Chuang Tze, for instance, (circa B.C. 330) is credited with a theory of the origin of species which remained, however, only "a very bold hypothesis."[17]

We may probe still deeper into the roots of China's past. Why did the Chinese not endeavor to make greater use of natural and material forces? Why did they not attempt to organize their communities more and to raise their standards of living? These two things are prominent in the Western mind and life. China, on the contrary, has thought and talked, and still does, much more in terms of culture. The motives that lead the West to take steps for self-protection tend to be economic mainly. In China even now a desire, heard above all the prevalent clamor, is the preservation of China's cultural inheritance.

China has not lacked, as we have seen, inventors. Her literature and art leave no doubt as to her intellectual and aesthetic capacity. A large proportion of thinkers in the West have spent their time in unveiling and harnessing the mysterious forces of nature. China's leaders of

16. China of the Chinese, Werner, page 144.

17. The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China, Hu Shih, page 155.

thought have spent their time "investigating" and interpreting man and "nature."

The attention of the Chinese mind has been on other things than matter or material forces as such. Chinese thinkers have tended to the synthetic and the ethical rather than the material and the analytic. Why?

For this direction of intellectual attention two reasons may be given. First the Chinese belief in the simple life. Second an evolutionary and somewhat deliberate philosophic decision as to the field of human "investigation."

The ideal of the simple life is that of adjustment to or harmony with the quiet way of "nature" as seen in the easy growth of the tree and the plant or the noiseless movement of the stars. This ideal has permeated the Chinese mind. Now "nature," whether that of the universe or of man, is, according to the Chinese mind and as we shall see more fully later, essentially ethical. The emphasis, therefore, has been on the ethical and personal interests rather than on the economic and material. The Chinese have never organized themselves locally or nationally to raise or protect their standards of living. They are now aspiring to imitate the West in this regard. Professor T. C. Chao, of Soochow University, has said, "China has ideals of heroism and of the simple and quiet life, free from heavy commercial transactions and selfish utilitarianism." The leaders of China have advocated for others and sought for themselves this simple life. China's intellectual leaders, whatever her rulers and their satellites may have done, did not aim at material affluence and achievement. Chu Hsi, for instance, for all that he has been looked on by many (mistakenly I think) as a purely materialistic philosopher sought neither fame or wealth. The quests of riches and of Jen[18] (仁) are taken by Mencius to be fundamentally incompatible.[19] The scholar and the farmer have, in general, been among those who sought to live simply. One not infrequently hears Christians in China advance the idea that it is from the farmer class that the most promising accretions to Christianity may be expected to come. Is this not due to the fact that they understand the simple life and that the simple life as understood by the Chinese is essentially Christian as regards its ethical emphasis?

This ideal of adjustment to ethical "nature" and particularly to the ethical nature of man himself is essentially scientific. The aim of modern applied science is to learn the laws governing natural forces so that man may first adjust himself to them and then use them. The Chinese ideal of the simple life is thus scientifically sound.

This ideal of the simple life based on adaptation to the nature of man and his universe included a recognition of a natural order whereby

18. One definition that seems suitable to me is, "Ethical love." This will be referred to again later.

19. Works of Mencius, Commercial Press edition, page 116.

one's social position was to some extent dependent on natural endowments which showed themselves in differences in intellectual capacity and distinctions in social function. While it has long been possible in China for almost anyone to acquire such education as was deemed worthwhile yet it was understood that some men are meant to be scholars and others toilers. Kao Yaou, Minister of Justice to Shun (B.C. 2317-2208) is frequently quoted as saying that the social relations and distinctions with their respective duties, i.e. family, official and friendly, are all settled by Heaven. A similar basis of functional distinctions based on natural endowments is appearing also in the democratic West.

This ideal of adjustment and harmony with "nature" was not, as is sometimes assumed, essentially a weak quietistic compliance with anything and everything, though some Chinese have so interpreted it and some foreigners so understand it. But for most of them "nature" showed a definite ethical bent or direction which in the case of the Confucianist called for staunch moral assertiveness and adherence to the right. Of this more later. In my thinking the Chinese are no more controlled by the opportunistic philosophy of life than the average Westerner. This point was recently illustrated. During January, 1926 about sixty Chinese and foreign Christian leaders met in Shanghai in special conference with Dr. John R. Mott. One knotty problem discussed was extrality and special treaty protection for Christians in China. It was significant that the Chinese present—some of them said it—treated these matters as essentially problems of right or wrong. Expediency did not appear to be prominent in their minds. A Chinese women delegate answered an "expediency" argument from a missionary present with these words: "Protection is protection, but righteousness is righteousness."[20] This attitude towards the right as right can be traced back to a fine saying by Mencius: "I desire life and I desire righteousness: if I cannot have them together I will let life go and choose righteousness."[21] Confucianism has been charged with a "play safe" policy in connection with the Doctrine of the Golden Mean.[22] This, however, seems to be a matter mainly of the Confucian attitude towards religion. The above declaration by Mencius is not opportunistic nor is it a "play safe" attitude. It makes moral rectitude the primary human consideration. It involves the willingness to sacrifice even life for principle. It is a root characteristic of Chinese ethical philosophy and of the Chinese character. It is an indispensable element of moral leadership.

One Chinese ethical keynote is self-mastery. But in distinction from an idea prevalent in the "Christian" West this attitude did not

20. The "Green Year" Supplement, Y.W.C.A. publication, 1926, page 8.
21. Works of Mencius, Commercial Press edition, page 287.
22. The Confucian Civilization, Z. K. Zia, page 39 and 42.

extend itself to mastery of the material environment. In the West the Christian idea of man's possibility of mastering his own spirit is submerged in the more general idea of his capacity to master his material world also. The West has thought, also, more than China in terms of *changing* its natural environment. China has thought most of harmonizing with it. The unity of the universe has been in the Chinese mind more than its variety. In accordance with the idea of mastery over the material world the West has also tended increasingly to give first place to masterly men—men who can put things over. The ability to get things done has been a test of human value even in Christian circles. But in China the first place in esteem has not been, and is not now, given to dominating masterly men. China has had such persons of course. Such may at times be endured and submitted to. Nevertheless in China leadership revolves around personal moral rectitude. In this consisted the basic right of rulers in China's past. Men, says Mencius, never follow another man with sincerity and approval except on the basis of his moral power.[23] Mencius and Confucius are credited with a loss of popularity because they believed that "Right is Might" and eschewed the doctrine that "Might is Right."[24] This is one reason why the soldier as such has been put so low in China's social valuation. In China good men have had the first place. By "good" is understood one in whom the ethical qualities of the spirit are dominant. This has been and still is the basis on which the Chinese honor their fellows.

But there still remains the question, Why have the Chinese not made an effort to master their natural environment and its material forces comparable to that the West is now making? One answer already suggested is that in the simple life, the life based on harmony with a universe ethical at bottom, the emphasis is on moral and spiritual values. The principal answer, which is also an explanation, is the evolutionary and deliberate choice of the cultural leaders of China to make human "affairs" their major interest rather than material things. This was both a matter of values and of method. Hu Shih, one of China's modern intellectual leaders points to this as one of the most important causes of China's backwardness in scientific research.[25] This decision, that man's chief intellectual pursuit is himself and his human relationships, while the fruit of China's ancient emphasis on the ideal of the simple life, was not consummated until the time of the Sung philosophers (960-1277 A.D.) and Wang Yang Ming (1472-1529). The decision came about as the result of the study of "The Great Learning," a book of about 1,750 words, discovered by the Sung philosophers,

23. Works of Mencius, Commercial Press edition, page 73.

24. The Confucian Civilization, Z. K. Zia, page 19.

25. See "The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China," Hu Shih, page 1-10.

who exalted it to the position of a part of the Confucian Canon. The passage that furnished the soil for this decision is as follows. It is worth repeating as it furnishes a clue to much Chinese thought. "When things are thoroughly investigated, knowledge will be extended to the utmost. When knowledge is extended to the utmost, our ideas will be made true. When our ideas are made true, our minds will be rectified. When our minds are rectified, our individual character will be improved. When our individual character is improved, our family will be well ordered. When the families are well ordered, the state will be well governed. When the states are well governed, the whole world will be in peace."[26] Paraphrased it means, as a man thinks so will he, his family and the state be. The method involved is that of "accumulated learning" which leads "to the final stage of enlightenment."[27] The basic necessity of life in China is individual, family and official rectification of character. The Sung school apparently understood the phrase "when things are thoroughly investigated" (格物) to include all objects under heaven. They did not actually, however, carry this "investigation" beyond the ethical basis of "nature" and man. Wang Yang Ming claimed that to "investigate into" things meant only to rectify the character, "to remove from the mind that which is not right and to restore its original nature of rightness."[28] The result was that China's thinkers continued to look into the philosophical reason of things as they are rather than into their material nature and the laws thereof. This decision was made shortly before the discoveries of Galileo, called one of the founders of modern experimental science, and about 300 years before the days of Newton, Linneaus, Buffon, Lavoisier and others. It left Chinese interest and attention on man's ethical nature and moral obligations and prevented them learning how to use more adequately the natural environment for the achievement of spiritual values. So that together with the absence of any impelling economic motive for the mastery and use of the material universe went a lack of effort to understand it fully. In the West while steam and electricity were known to some extent from very ancient times their mechanical application arose in connection with the era of scientific experimentation with natural forces and their properties. It was precisely this that China overlooked. They learned much about the laws of the human spirit. They did not learn how to use the material forces of the universe in accordance with these laws of the spirit.

To learn how to use the material resources of the universe for the ends of the spirit is a common world need. China's long continued emphasis on the necessity of rectifying character will help in meeting it.

26. Hu Shih's translation.
27. The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China, Hu Shih, page 2.
28. Hu Shih, as above, page 3.

In this connection both China and the West are guilty of a sin that is common in kind though different in manner. China has neglected natural resources. Hence widespread and unnecessary poverty and a grueling struggle for existence that militates against the rectification of character that they chose as their chief aim. This neglect of natural resources results in great waste of life and natural resources. The West has mastered natural resources and raised thereby its standards of living. But it has made these high standards of living its chief aim and has utilized natural resources on a hitherto unheard of scale to enable men to destroy one another in conflict. The result is also great waste of life and natural resources. China and the West are thus equally guilty of sin. There is little difference between letting people die through neglect and sending them out to kill and be killed in order to carry out certain political ends. In both cases life is misused and wasted. They need each other's help to offset this common sin.

One other of the roots in China's life may be mentioned in a general way. In spite of past and present anti-religious sentiments and activities China has been and still is fundamentally religious. This means, of course, the acceptance of a very inclusive definition for religion. With the crude magic and weird superstition connected with religion in China I shall not deal.[29] It is self-evident. Education will take care of most of it. It can be said, however, that most of the Chinese people act on the assumption of some sort of human endurance after death.[30] There are also widespread ideas of a Supreme Being. This will be dealt with later. There is also in connection with Buddhist influences and Confucian ideas of the necessity of the rectification of the individual character a deep consciousness of personal responsibility for individual conduct. There is also particularily so far as Buddhism is concerned, and this concerns in some measure most Chinese, a desire for personal "salvation."

Philosophically the Confucian ethics have produced a large measure of unity in China's moral consciousness. This is weakening to some extent as the result of modern intellectual, industrial and social changes. Filial piety, also, has unified the family life and furnished a fulcrum for ethical idealism. It is now being sharply criticized by some modern scholars. In China's religious life, however, unity is conspicuously absent. The whole gamut of religious experience—magical, spiritistic, mystical and ethical—is still found in China. It is still polydaemonistic and polytheistic. I have pointed out in the previous chapter that Christianity is unified as to the object of the religious attention though disunified with regard to much else. In China there are a number of what

29. Perhaps the best source of information on this subject is the series of volumes on "Researches into Chinese Superstitions," Henry Dorè

30. See Appendix I.

might be called superior objects of religious attention or worship, and a multitude of those of lesser value or significance. But the fact remains that as regards the object of the religious attention China's religious life is disunified. Furthermore whatever the ideas of a Supreme Being may be they have had to contend with those of human worth and relationships. The Supreme Being has not had the first place in Chinese loyalty. Just what the effect on China's religious experience of this disunity of attention may be it is impossible to say. But such a scattering of the religious attention cannot make for unity of the spirit. Unity of the spirit is a psychological necessity. The chief function of religion is, in my judgment, the unification of the human spirit, individual and social, around one Supreme Being in, and meaning of, the known universe. In this regard the religions and religious life of China are ineffective. Their ethical emphases do not differ enough to create ethical disunity. But the number and variations of the objects of religious worship and loyalty tend away from the unification of man's spirit. One of China's most patent needs, therefore, is a religious life that will help to unify her spirit. The lack of one outstanding compelling religious personality is the greatest need in China's religious life.

As to China's root difficulty of poverty we may look for its gradual removal, in large part at least, as China's industrial life changes. For this change the universal human urge for the betterment of economic conditions will pave the way. It is already slowly taking place. The difficulty of disunity in China's religious life, however, is not so easy of solution. While Christianity is essentially a unifying philosophy, a point to be mentioned again later, nevertheless as at present carried on it is a disunifying religious influence. Can China unify her own religious and ethical ideas sufficiently to make her indigenous systems of ethical and religious thought a basis for this needed unity of spirit or will Christianity be able to fill the gap? Who can say? It is a race. The winner is hidden. It is safe to say that these roots of religious and ethical idealism will continue to send up fructifying sap into China's future life. The great festivals will also leave their imprint in some manner on the China that is to be as pagan festivals have left their names and to some extent their significance in Christian chronology. Even the present Chinese Christian emphasis on the necessity of Christian autonomy can be traced back in part to their autonomous village experience.

China will not dig up and discard all the roots buried deep in her long experience any more than Western peoples have done. If Christianity is to be naturalized in China it will have to be joined on to those roots in China's past that will remain over into her future.

CHAPTER III.

Some of China's Life-Sets

WHAT are some of China's life-sets? By "life-sets" I mean those subconscious tendencies in Chinese life which lie deeper and move with an even more resistent impetus than "mind-sets." The Chinese have always thought more of the conduct of their social and political leaders than of their creeds. They have always tended to give good men the first place.[31] They have not produced theologians or learned yet how to evaluate them. Christianity in China will be judged not by its theology but by its ability to produce good men. That is a typical Chinese life-set. It is also China's pragmatic test of Christianity. The Chinese people are now beginning to think about Christianity as a nation. They cannot escape approaching this thinking in terms of China's life-sets. To weave Christianity into the life of China means also to weave some of these life-sets into Christianity.

The life-sets to be treated in this chapter have to do with the spheres of human conflicts and cooperation, and religious expression. Heretofore Christianity has been something superimposed upon Chinese life. But China's life-sets are now, like bamboo shoots, pushing up through Christianity's superimposed forms, ideals and control. The Christian dynamic in China is becoming China-centric. None of these life-sets will yield easily to outside influence. Many of them are worth retaining. Those treated below are all somewhat in contrast to Western tendencies; some of them sharply so.

One life-set has to do with the Chinese attitude towards human conflicts. Inasmuch as Christian work and institutions are at the centre and to a considerable extent the cause of a conflict, this has special significance for Western Christian workers.

It is often assumed that, compared with Westerners, the Chinese are passivistic. That their ideals are not those of a weak and jelly-fish compliance has already been shown.[32] But on the basis of this superficial comparison it is also often assumed that all that is needed to settle an issue with the Chinese is a show of force or firmness. It is true that mere aggressiveness on the part of their Western friends does sometimes shelve issues in which Chinese are interested. The Chinese do not respond at once to mere aggressiveness in kind. It has also been stated that the Chinese attitude towards defensive militarism is the same as that in the "Christian" West.[33] But this is not all the story. In

31. Page 22.
32. Page 21.
33. Page 6.

spite of the present rising tendency in China to face the West on the basis of military force the Chinese do not readily resort to force. Their use of force is usually an act of last resort and desperation. Thus many rebellions[34] and modern boycotts are, in the main, movements of desperation. This hesitancy to resort to force is seen also in the fact that Christian Chinese do not readily push majority decisions. Western Christians show much less hesitancy here.

Yet one who lives and works with the Chinese is conscious of a steady and controlled moral determination which never lets go of a cause deemed essential or right. Issues are never dead till they die in peace. This moral persistence, however, is tempered with disillusionment as to the efficacy of force in settling conflicts. For "Those men," says Mencius "who submit to force, never submit in heart."[35] No human conflict is, therefore, settled satisfactorily until men's hearts are satisfied. Persuasion not pressure is the only sure method. A conclusion won by a mere majority or an army is not a real conclusion. This tenacious determination to achieve an end deemed just is far from being passivistic. In view of this life-set, which tends to use force as the last resort of desperate and less than normal men, the Chinese may be looked on as not aggressive or activistic as the West thinks. Rather are they tenaciously patient. This patience is often taken for passiveness. Because for instance, many Christian Chinese do not wish to press the Chinese Government on the question of the right to make religious instruction compulsory they are taken by some to lack conviction. But the character of many of those taking this position is against this interpretation of their attitude. They have convictions. But these convictions centre around something other than compulsion. Of this more anon. In all conflicts of opinion the Chinese seek first for the moral assent of those concerned. Another illustration comes to mind. Christian Chinese have a strong conviction that Christian institutions in China should pass under their control. But few and far between are the cases where they force the issue over hesitant Western colleagues, in spite of the fact that this would be comparatively easy.

This tenacious patience is seen in three typical ways of approaching issues.

In the first place no issue is approached with the assumption that it has only one side. This is the attitude that gives the wayside arbitrator of a street brawl his opportunity. He never assumes that either wrangler is altogether right. He seeks for the human equation in each case as well as for the facts involved. In consequence no two altercations can end in the same solution. They vary with the human equation.

34. See, History of China, Faber, also "A Study of the Rebellions of China," Chinese Recorder, 1905, March, page 107.

35. Works of Mencius, Commercial Press Edition, page 72.

A satisfactory solution calls for yielding on both sides. Thinking Chinese show this attitude in religious controversy also. Some Christian propagandists dub this attitude "compromise." But it is really willingness to search for the common right or truth. Right here also is where the "middle-man" comes in. He represents the practical application of the philosophy of arbitration. Western Christians in China need to understand and practise this approach.

In the second place there is the way of retreat before opposition until such time as conditions are right for meeting it. To many Westerners this would be a show of weakness. It is in fact restraint that is strength. A typical case without names may be mentioned. The Christian head of a Chinese school was faced with a student strike. In a short time he resigned and left both the school and city. The students were free to try out their own notions. Experience showed them that the head was still needed. They communicated with him urging his return. He came back. The students wanted to tender him a reception. This he declined and instead stated that certain things must be understood before he would resume his position. The result was that through his retreat he was able finally to push forward his legitimate purposes. What does this strategy of retreat mean? Two things. First had student opposition been met with opposition the situation would have congealed into one impossible to solve. Instead the opposition wore itself out. In the second place this Christian educationist acted on the Chinese principle that one never helps the right by stooping down to the tactics and demeanour of those in the wrong. A proverb thus puts it, "If you lift your hand to strike you are three-tenths lower than your opponent: if you begin a fight you have no Li."[36] In Central Park, Peking, is a small pavilion within which are inscribed the eight sayings of China's sages deemed most popular by vote. One reads, "He whose courtesy overcomes rudeness is fortunate: he whose rudeness overcomes politeness is lost." This may, of course, sometimes mean losing a fight; but it always means the salvage of moral dignity. This attitude is in the main Taoistic. Huai Nan Tzu, of the second century B.C., thus puts it:—"A wealth of yieldingness gives firmness." "Yieldingness will overcome anything superior to itself: its strength is boundless."*

This second way of meeting issues is closely linked with the third. This may be called the way of friendly understanding. The Chinese do not like to force a decision. Neither do they like to be forced. Even when they are convinced that they have a just cause they look first for friendly understanding as a basis of settlement. For only those who act as friends towards each other can solve their differences. The keynote

*Rev. Evan Morgan's translation.

36. Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb, Plopper, page 219.

of friendship in China is intimate understanding. The friend is the one who knows you (知己). Even in connection with the rising Chinese desire for representation on the Shanghai Municipal Council one hears them express the wish for a friendly, understanding gesture,—for an atmosphere of friendliness rather than of pressure in which to consider the issues involved.

All this is far from being a passive indifference to the outcome to any particular situation. It is not a lack of conviction. It is a conviction that the way of moral and mutual understanding is the only way to meet issues. Frequently the Chinese are accused of a lack of initiative. Chinese Christians are sometime charged with unwillingness to shoulder responsibility for Christian work. Now the Chinese never seem to me to lack ideas. But it is rarely assumed that because one has an idea he must therefore push it regardless of what others may think. The idea held by some Western Christians that they have a right or obligation to present Christian ideas whether the Chinese want them or not comes into conflict with this viewpoint.

The average Westerner is a great knot-cutter. His activism is often mere impatience. To unravel knots rather than cut them is a Chinese life-set. This Chinese hesitancy to force a way through an issue is a desire to do all possible to conserve personal and moral values. This is true even though China is now troubled by communistic extremists and militarists who are trying out the Western frontal attack in lieu of China's age-long use of military parleys and strategy. The Chinese always give men a chance to act like men. To use force is to treat men as less than men. To be forced is infra dig. This way of mutual understanding and persuasion is a longer way round than that of knot-cutting. But it is the deliberative life-set of a mature race. The Western adolescent finds it vexatious.

Can the Chinese cooperate on any large scale? That clan, community, and vocational cooperation is known and practised I have already shown.[37] But more can be said than this. Both Confucius and Mo Tzu, though in opposition to each other in many things yet sought, according to Liang Chi Chao, "a perfectly mutually helpful society."[38] Is this, however, anything more than the golden vision of dreamers? China's present disjointed political situation is sometimes cited as showing inability to cooperate nationally. But even under the shadow of civil war nation-wide cooperation is going on. The Mass Education Movement, The National Society for the Advancement of Education, The National Anti-Opium Society are instances of both intra-national and international cooperation. Furthermore both those with and

37. Page 14.

38. Critical Study of Mo Tzu, (墨子學案) Liang, page 38.

those without Western training work together in these enterprises. A striking illustration is that of the National Educational Survey (1923-24). In this government and Christian school students, Chinese and Western educationists, worked together in surveying 115,000 students, in 24 colleges, 50 middle schools and 600 elementary schools located in 42 centres. On the other hand the attempt to establish a National Chinese Health Council failed. During the last twenty-five years many fine plans for cooperative Christian effort were born only to be quietly buried. The oft-mentioned Chinese desire for a united church does not make much headway outside of quite limited localities. The explanation in these cases as well as in that of the Chinese Christian hesitancy to accept responsibility for Christian work is neither deep nor hidden. The psychology and the machinery of many Christian attempts at organization is too Western. It does not fit into Chinese life-sets. Educational movements and anti-opium efforts do. They are understood. These are making progress while attempts at China's political, social and religious reorganization are either standing still or dragging forward at a snail's pace.

China's cooperative life-set centres in and around personalities mainly. Not creedal or contractual but personal ethics are its bond of unity. The same is true of China's legal and political life. Westerners tend to think in terms of something in black and white; the Chinese in terms of personal understandings. As Professor C. C. Chen of Shanghai College has written me, "the Chinese method of personal persuasion (and, we may add, personal understandings) will be more effective than any mechanical requirement."

Because even business relationships are built up around personal values and understandings rather than elaborate written contracts it is still difficult in China to organize industrial corporations on an efficient basis,[39] though many Chinese students have studied along these lines in the West. I once had as a travelling companion on the train, Mr. H. Y. Moh, then known as the "Cotton King." Our conversation drifted around to the essentials of business understandings and undertakings. I asked this "Cotton King" how with the weak emphasis the Chinese place on written agreements and elaborate articles of corporative enterprise he managed to secure money for his many large cotton companies. His answer was typical. "If they believe in me I can get money no matter what the arrangements as recorded legally may be. If they do not believe in me no type of written arrangement will secure the money." Character counts for much more than written credentials or arrangements. The same thing is, of course, true in high financial circles in New York. Nevertheless the Chinese depend less on written

39. See, article, "Back to the Interior," Wen Shih-tsen, North-China Daily News Sixtieth Anniversary, July 14, 1924, page 23.

agreements than the average Westerner. This does not imply that they fail to see the necessity of written records for intricate undertakings.

This life-set is due to the fact that the underlying Tao is thought of as working itself out in human relationships particularly those of the clan and family. A tendency to fit into this cooperate life-set is seen in suggestions in South China that the Church should take the place of the Ancestral Hall. Some missionaries are also suggesting that church life should be built up more around family relationships. A large group of language school teachers in Peking once pointed out to me the importance of using women to win the family in establishing Christianity. They even suggested the advisability of having more women missionaries and fewer men for this reason. They overlooked the fact that already about two-thirds of the missionary staff are women.

A Chinese life-set somewhat in contrast to the one just mentioned is that the religious life of the Chinese is much more individual and private than is commonly realized. Religious practise in China lacks two or three public aspects common in the West.

In the first place public religious propaganda is almost absent in China. In Christianity, however, the preacher and the pulpit are very prominent. The story-teller and his table are the nearest approach to them in Chinese life. He does not, of course, deal with religion. Religion in China is something concerned mainly with rites and life. Buddhists have, it is true, prepared much propagandic literature couched in suitable Chinese form. On this much of their influence rests. They have also taught those desirous of entering their brotherhood. It is interesting to note that in the long list of Buddhist Worthies given by Dore[40] many of them entered the monasteries as adolescents. Confucianism has had no direct propaganda except until quite recently That has died down again. The paid Christian propagandist is therefore a new thing in China. The fact that he is paid sometimes creates uncertainty as to his genuineness.[41] For some it is infra dig to take money for such a profession. Confucian ceremonialists are not paid for their services. In Buddhism a money compensation is made for nearly everything done. This does not, however, go directly to individuals. This uncertainty as to the Christian propagandist was once thus put to me. "China has many religions but only Christianity is preached and proclaimed. *Why* must Christianity be proclaimed?" The difficulty back of this question is shown in another one asked in the same large group of Chinese teachers in the Peking Language School, "Why not let the doctrine (Tao) do its own work?" An explanation of

40. See, Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Henry Dore, Second Part. Vol. VIII.

41. See, article, Making the Christian Church in China Indigenous, Chinese Recorder, 1922, page 311.

this point is found in still another question, "Should preachers first *proclaim* love for their neighbors or should they first *practise* it?" These questions embody a Chinese life-set. A teacher who by his example and life influences his pupils to good living is understood. The paid propagandist be he ever so eloquent or successful is not. What one does or is, therefore, counts for much more than sermons or resolutions, both dear to Western hearts. From of old in China example has been looked on as the chief factor in leading men to live right.[42] For this reason to *live* the Christian life is often put forward as the missionary's chief contribution to China. Another of the eight most popular sayings of China's sages quoted in the pavilion in Central Park, Peking, is that of Wang Yang Ming, "Knowing is doing; to begin to act is to achieve knowledge." The silent doer has, therefore, much more weight than the loquacious propagandist. Silent living is a part of Buddhism. This may explain in part why the Chinese seem to understand Buddhism much easier than Christianity.

Public group worship, also, outside of monasteries and the official ceremonies offered to Confucius and Heaven is absent from China's religious life. Families sometimes commemorate together their ancestors. Students as groups also used to do obeisance to Confucius. But the mass of the people worship individually. The temples are visited by all. On special days they are crowded. But the worship is individual. Singing, worshipping, praying and listening together are characteristic features of Christianity new to China. Sometimes at least Christianity is looked on as summed up in these group activities. Judging by the low state of spiritual life charged up against many Chinese Christian groups this submergence of the individual in group worship tends in many cases away from individual religious experience. On the other hand worshipping together may and should be used as an introduction to a wider social experience than Chinese group life affords. Nevertheless here is a contrast in religious activities the significance of which has never been properly measured.

Another contrast between Christianity and China's religious life is in connection with public confession. The assumption of vows coupled with the burning of the sacred marks upon his head is a public confession on the part of the Buddhist priest. But other Chinese are not called on to make a *public* confession of faith either ceremonial or vocal. China has nothing like public, ceremonial or auricular confession of sin. The first step, however, into the Christian group is usually in the nature of a public confession. It of course usually involves a previous decision. It tends, therefore, towards accentuation on the necessity of individual choice in religion, something largely lacking in Chinese life.

42. See, The Chinese System of Public Education, Kuo, page 13.

This is to the good if care is taken against placing overmuch emphasis on one act of decision. This is not always done. The danger is that where, as in China, religion has been so much a matter of private concern this emphasis on publicity may give it a tinge of unreality.

This lack of religious propaganda, public worship and confession together make religion in China mainly a matter of private and personal practice and experience. This life-set is due to the fact that the precincts of the human personality are sacred in religion as well as in secular affairs.

"Shall the study of religion be required or voluntary?" This is a burning question. It will probably continue to burn. Some Chinese Christians want the study of Christianity compulsory for their own children. But most Chinese Christians and non-Christians do not. The chief explanation is another Chinese life-set. Religious education as such, except in monasteries and there many tomes are devoted to metaphysical psychology rather than to religious concepts as such, is little known in China. Religion was, it is true, included in China's early educational system.[43] But it was one aspect only and not the chief one even then.

The Christian inherited the idea of religious education from his Jewish forbear. Education as connected with Christianity has been largely controlled by the idea of passing on religion as such. Many outstanding universities in the Christian West were founded primarily to promote Christianity. In China religious ideas have usually been incidental to other educational aims. Education as carried on by Buddhists and Confucianists has been mainly vocational, the first with a religious order and the second with political service in mind. Thus religious education in China has usually been indirect and, so far as the temples were concerned, largely symbolical. Confucianism, Buddhism and even Taoism lay emphasis on enlightenment or knowledge as having much to do with the activity of life. But they do not, like the Christians,—prominently in Catholicism; somewhat less so in Protestantism,—make the acquisition of knowledge a factor in "salvation." This is particularly true of the masses. The content of education in China has usually been Confucian. Confucianism, however, did not make religious experience or education primary though much of religious value may be found therein. Religionists China has had aplenty. But religious teachers and teaching as such have been absent from China's mass life. Furthermore religion has not been thought of as a thing apart from life except to some extent in Buddhism. The line between the secular and the religious in China is very dim. Confucianism insofar as it is a religion wraps itself up in family and official relationships. Even

43. Chinese System of Public Education, Kuo, page 13.

Buddhism in popular experience, whatever the ideas and practise of the clergy, is linked up with all kinds of social as well as spiritual needs.

Of any sort of compulsion in the study of religion as such the Chinese know even less. The only instance approaching it I have discovered is that of Ching-ti (B.C. 156-140) who on the instigation of his mother, the Empress Dowager, made the Tao Teh King a text-book in all schools. Religion in China has not only been largely a personal and private matter it has also usually been voluntary. Participation in "ancestral worship" has been the one exception. But inasmuch as the ancestors do not seem to have been deified, as a Christian understands that term, it is only at the most partly religious. Certainly the understanding and worship of God has never been a matter of compulsion. The passing on of religion has been a matter of personal contacts and example. It is from this viewpoint that opponents of compulsion in religious study look at the problem. With little or no conscious intent all approach to religion in China has been left voluntary. This voluntary approach to religion is a life-set. To meet it presents a new pedagogical problem to religious instructors from the West. To meet it in a way that fits into this life-set is one of the needs of most Chinese pupils. Compulsory religious study is thus a foreign idea that conflicts with a Chinese life-set.

This leads naturally to another Chinese life-set that contrasts with a prominent aspect of Christianity. The Chinese in their religious life have long grown past anything like sectarian exclusionism. This aspect of Christianity is another of its puzzles to them. There are, it is true, Confucian and Buddhist ceremonies performed by special and exclusive groups. The priests and the literati do not exchange. Yet the Chinese people accept indiscriminately the different religious systems. Even the literati at times share with the illiterati the services of the priest. In popular parlance the three religions have come to be looked on as one and as coming from one source. (三教同源). Buddhists often call Heaven, a Confucian term and concept, Buddha. Heaven is sometimes thought of as the basis of Gautama's nature.[44] Sometimes the images of the founders of these three religions are worshipped together as at Lucheng, Shansi. In this triad, by the way, Buddha is in the middle.[45]

Christianity has even been charged with bringing religious intolerance into China.[46] This is only partly true. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism have at times inflicted on or suffered persecution from one another.[47] Even Chu Hsi, afterwards the most popular interpretator

44. Chinese Religion seen Through the Proverb, Plopper, page 143.
45. China's Millions, January, 1919.
46. See footnote, "Reconstruction of Modern Educational Organizations in China," C. Ying.
47. The best study I know on this topic is, "Religious Persecution in China," Harrison K. Wright, Chinese Recorder, 1921, pages 235, 341, 397.

of Confucianism, was in 1196 deprived of his office, and his school, dubbed "the school of false learning," interdicted.[48] As late as 1898 Chang Chih Tung, in a widely read and popular book, "China's Only Hope," proposed the appropriation of nunneries and monasteries for the use of modern schools. For a short time this was actually done.[49] As late as 1914-16 Confucianists made an earnest attempt to have their cult adopted as the state religion. This failed. It did not involve persecution. The Confucianists have, however, been the most active group in attempting to suppress other religions, though this has been as much, if not more, a matter of political power than of religious zeal. The minor religious sects have often been the object of ruthless persecution. But their aim while primarily religious has usually been political also.[50] Intoleration in China has never been persistent or strong enough to prevent popular intermingling of religious practice and service. It does not seem to have produced an institution comparable to the Inquisition.

Nevertheless the Chinese have slowly and steadily grown away from sectarian exclusionism. In this the time element has been a large factor. Critics of Christianity who compare the unfavorable Chinese attitude thereto in contrast to the acceptance of Buddhism as an indigenous religion usually overlook this point. Buddhism had a long hard struggle before it settled into the niche in Chinese thought it now occupies. Long continued contiguity has helped to soften the attitude of the adherents of these different systems to each other.

There does not seem to have been much *conscious* syncretism of the teachings of these various Chinese systems. There has rather been a gradual blending which began long ago. Hu Shih says,[51] that second century (B.C.) Confucianism was really theistic Moism and second century (A.D.) Taoism was also theistic Moism mixed with popular superstitious religious features. Later Taoism and Buddhism blended so that the two are now difficult to distinguish as far as many temples are concerned. Different Emperors have helped along this blending. Wen Ti of the Han Dynasty sought to restore Confucianism which had suffered in prestige under the First Emperor; his consort with equal ardor backed up Taoism. Emperor Wu of Chou (A.D. 574) at first fixed the three religions in a fitting relationship but later prohibited both Taoism and Buddhism.[52] In the T'ang Dynasty Taoism and Buddhism alternated in influence and prestige with the rulers. In modern times actual attempts to syncretise these different systems of

48. History of China, Faber, page 171.

49. Chinese System of Public Education, Kuo, pages 70, 147.

50. The Chinese Church, 1922, page 153.

51. Buddhistic Influence on Chinese Religious Life, The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, January, 1925, page 143.

52. History of China, Faber, page 99.

thought are more in evidence, particularly in the widespread Eclectic Societies.[53] By reason of a certain amount of blending of Confucianism and Buddhism, Wang Yang Ming has sometimes been called the "Buddhist-Confucianist."[54] The Chinese concept of the fundamental unity at the basis of the universe pervades all these systems. The concept of Tao has permeated them all. Tai-hsü a leading modern Buddhist has stated that for modern Buddhists the chief thing "is that the Tao can also be incarnated in us."[55] Thus does this old concept permeate even Buddhism.

Alongside of the softening influence of time and of the blending of religious systems which has grown out of the interplay of shifting human interests is another life-set of China—the appreciative attitude towards worth-while personalities. All China's blended systems of thought, religious or philosophic, centre on personalities ethically noble. Sacrifice for others is more prominent, it is true, in the case of Buddha and some leading Buddhist deities than in some other religious personalities. A large proportion of the idols, likewise, remind their worshippers of worth-while or unusual personalities. I have said that there is in China a widespread appreciation of Christ.[56] The explanation is found in this long and deep-rooted Chinese appreciation of ethical personalities. Chinese religious tolerance, is therefore, not due to lack of conviction but is on the contrary the outcome of a conviction that ethical personalities are of supreme importance. Popular religious life in China is based on the appreciation of personalities, not on their utterances alone or men's explanations about them. For this reason the division of Christian loyalty between denominational preservation, formulations of truth and the personality of Christ is not in accord with this centralizing Chinese life-set. When, therefore, the Chinese consider Christianity they tend to put first the personality of Christ and second the personality of his representatives. Temples are in the main places sacred to personalities. For this reason many present-day Chinese Christians desire that a part of a church building be kept sacred to the personality of their Master.

In closing this chapter I wish to ask and briefly answer this question, How will the above or other Chinese life-sets affect future Christian group life in China?

Christian organizations inside and outside the church will be simplified. Most Christian organizations in existence are the work of

53. Modern Syncretic Societies in China, Journal of Religion, 1925, September and November.

54. Chen Ju, F. R. Millican, Chinese Recorder, 1924, page 117.

55. Conference of Chinese Buddhist Leaders, Reichelt, Chinese Recorder, 1923, page 668.

56. Page 1.

foreigners. They are too complex. They call for too much time in the tending of machinery. Chinese influence in the work of the National Christian Council tends to simplify its organizations. There is a slackening of organizational urge and momentum.

Each denomination hopes and some proclaim that its particular type of polity will fit the Chinese mind. They will all be disappointed. The Chinese do not tend to extreme Congregationalism. The influential and widespread secret sects have been neither oligarchical or democratic.[57] Neither are they run by committees. Neither are Confucianism or Buddhism Congregational. Likewise they are not hierarchical. Confucianism knows no Levitical class. Buddhism is a brotherhood with a leader. It has no national hierarchy. In short all religious organization in China is loose and rarely do the masses participate therein. Christianity will not escape the influence of this organizational psychology.

Secret sects and religious groups are built up around personalities. In the family the elder is head. The bond of organization is benevolent eldership. Where does the Chinese pastor come in? There are two life-sets into which he might fit. First that of the elder. Second that of the teacher. Actually the training given him has centred on making him a vocal propagandist. This fits into neither of these life-sets. Of the pastoral nurturing of his flock he knows all too little. He is preeminently a group "elder" responsible for many "family" affairs quite outside the function of a Western pastor. As a vocal propagandist, furthermore, he is not a shining success and fails most often to attain to leadership in building up a community life or solving the problems of the Christianization of the community. He tends to be submerged in "family" affairs. He does render social service but it is a type that diverts him from his special function of nurture. His Christian training, heretofore, has done little to enable him to utilize China's life-sets for Christian ends. This is a primary problem of the naturalization of Christianity. If, however, he were trained to take the place of the respected teacher he might thereby avoid being submerged in "family" affairs and would naturally preach more by example and carry on the nurture of his flock. For both these emphases have always been to some extent the function of the teacher in China. He needs, therefore, to be trained into a teaching-eldership. He must learn how to function through both these life-sets.

Chinese Christian groups will not only make their mutual relationship centre in a leading personality more than in the machinery of organization they will also make personal relationships rather than doctrinal agreements the core of their group life and the personal attitude to Christ the test of Christian living rather than any acquisition of

57. The Chinese Church, 1922, page 153.

knowledge. This does not mean that they will not want to learn Christian truth or that ignorant enthusiasm alone will win them. Chinese Christian leaders frequently urge that personal relationship with Christ and God be made the central emphasis in Christianity. This idea of personal relationship fits in with the Chinese life-set; that of creedal relationships does not. They may try to work out creeds of their own. They may accept some Western creeds. But they will keep personal relationships to the forefront.

Worship in China is largely symbolic and ritualistic. The Chinese will probably, therefore, if left free, tend towards a simple ritualistic type of social worship. Here and there attempts to do this are noted. In their individual devotional life the influence of the Buddhist idea of contemplation tends to reproduce itself. And inasmuch as the masses do not separate the secular and the religious they will measure the worth of religion by its workableness under actual human conditions.

The difficulties that now confront Western Christian interests have two foci, the administrative and the theological. In the administrative realm external control or compulsion is the main object of criticism. By reason of this projected control Christianity shares in the charge of being "imperialistic" levelled against Western impacts on China. In the theological realm the Chinese tend strongly to think of Christ in terms of his ethical personality above all other considerations. Both of these difficulties go back to the Chinese life-set, that of emphasis on personal values and personal relationships from which, particularly in connection with religion, compulsion is relegated to the background. Actual religious life in China is also quite personal. The removal of compulsion or what is taken to be compulsion from religion should give the Christian no great trouble. The question of fitting Christian theology into the Chinese life-set of centering its religious life in ethical personalities will call for careful thinking. In any event these life-sets are assets in the building up of Christianity in China.

It is worth while noting in conclusion that much said above bears out the contention of the Chinese that one of their contributions to the world is their emphasis on the personalization of human relationships.[58] Add to this the personalization of religious relationships and we have the two chief life-sets in China with which Christianity has to deal.

58. Page 8.

SECTION II. THE INDIVIDUAL, THE FAMILY, THE PEOPLE.

Chapter 4. The One and the Many.

Chapter 5. The Social Heart.

Chapter 6. China as An Equal.

CHAPTER IV.

The One and the Many

"I believe that 'the life and personality of the individual are of supreme value.'" This statement was made by a student in a mission college for girls. Is such a conviction the unique fruit of Christian influence only or is there also a basis for it in Chinese thought and attitudes? That the Chinese appreciate worthwhile personalities has already been shown. Does their thinking go any deeper than this? Do they also understand the significance of the individual and give him a fitting place in the scheme of things? Or is the individual nearly lost in the social mass? Is the crowd or the individual the determining factor in Chinese life? Or both together? Have the Chinese any idea of or basis for human equality? Is the one absorbed in the many? What is the Chinese fundamental social value? If Christian emphasis on personality (a modern word) is additional to that already known in China then the coming together of the Chinese and Christian waves of emphasis should pile up a momentum that will give personality in China a more commanding position than ever held before. Furthermore such a union of Chinese and Christian thought would have tremendous meaning for the whole world.

Confucianism makes self-development the primary duty of man.[59] This is not for the purpose of selfish delight in one's own goodness. It seems to mean, on the contrary, to strive to be good in order to make *others* happy. The "perfection of individual excellence" is given as the aim of human ethical effort in "A Chart of Chinese Ethics."[60] This same chart warns against self-deceit and urges self-examination even providing a formula for this purpose. This is not unleashed self-expression. For this emphasis upon self-development is not only controlled by thoughts of its effects upon others; the goal of this individual striving is also outside of the self. Huai Nan Tzu, a Taoist philosopher, contemporaneous with Ssu Ma Ch'ien (born B. C. 145) thus suggests this goal of self-development. "The superior man will die for right, but he cannot be detained by the thoughts of honours and gain: nor can he be frightened by the fear of death and loss in a righteous cause."[61] It is evident, then, even from the above few references that for some Chinese thinkers the effort and character of the individual have an inherent significance. Individual compliance with the right is a prominent consideration. This individual compliance with the right is not

59. Analects, XIV, XLV. Doctrine of the Mean XIII, 3.

60. See page 9.

61. Huai Nan Tzu (淮南子), Book VII, page 11. Translation by Rev. Evan Morgan.

dependent upon the wishes of others alone. "To see the right and not do it is cowardice."[62]

It has long been widely recognized that under the old regime government in China was linked up mainly with the moral worth of the ruler. This has sometimes been criticised as an impractical ideal. Nevertheless it has been and still is the Chinese ideal up to which those placed in authority are expected to live. There seems to have been little, if any, distinction between the morality of the state and that of the individual. China's "divine right" of kings, is rooted in the moral worth of the individual ruler. This is a democratic and Christian sanction. The office does not make the man. The man must fit the office. The right to be obeyed is based on the obligation to be worthy of being obeyed. When the one wielding authority fell into personal turpitude that was taken as proof that he no longer cooperated with The Supreme Power (T'ien) and that the obligation to obey had been abrogated. To abrogate the obligation to obey when the ethical right to obedience has been discarded is one of the fundamental rights of man written into the Magna Charta. Baptists and others also recognize that at times a higher law than the written one may obtain. So prominent has this idea been in the Chinese mind that written law has held a much more precarious position than in the West. The influence of those in authority in leading those under them to do right was founded in their personal rectitude. Some did, it is true, like Huai Nan Tzu mentioned above, admit the legitimacy of the use of military force against those not amenable to moral suasion. The practise of many of China's rulers has been directly contrary to this controlling principle. Nevertheless the personal virtue of those in authority was their dominant qualification. The ruler must concentrate attention first on his own virtue[63]. The failure or seeming failure of Christians, therefore, to apply their principles to international relationships as judged by the Chinese mind, militates against their right to lead.

In the family life the same principle holds good. Filial piety tended to concentrate the attention and efforts of the members of the family on the claims and benefits of certain individuals, usually on one—the senior. Ancestral worship accentuated this tendency. Clan and family leadership, as a matter of fact, rests on three things. Family status, personal achievement, but much more on the personal moral worth of the head of the family or the clan. At times the rigidity of family submission to its head yields to the right of some member thereof to admonish an elder who has forgotten how to behave. This did not usually permit of or often result in a breaking away from family authority such as came to be permitted in the case of a defaulting em-

62. Analects, Soothill, II, XXIV, 2.
63. Great Learning, X, 5, 6, 7.

peror. Nevertheless the basis of family authority rested in the personal moral worth of those invested with the authority. This personal moral worth was supreme because it was a part of the universal scheme of things. And insofar as this principle is applied the use of force becomes unnecessary in family affairs. In any event moral influence comes first. This explains why, while family life in China is autocratic in structure it is, in practise, much less arbitrary than is often assumed.

Attention has been centred, therefore, not on organization as such, either of state or family, but on the individual character. Indeed, it may be said that the attention has not been on the office so much as on the man occupying it. Neither the state or the family as an abstract entity is clearly in mind. Interests and activities centre around a concrete fact—a person. It is a person not a personified institution to which allegiance in China is usually given. The Chinese have exalted worthy persons much more than they have personified abstract institutions. Their family and national scheme of things centres around individuals. Certain individuals stand out.

The same fact stands out in their religious ideas and practise. That religion is in worship and approach a voluntary and individual matter has already been indicated.[64] The idols are usually not personified abstractions, though such exist, but specially honored personalities, some of which are legendary. The emphasis in Confucianism, so far as it is a religion, has already been shown. And it is the Confucian emphasis that comes out in governmental and family life. Taoism, says Soothill, stands for the individual.[65] The Supreme and Infinite Tao is looked on as being manifested through individual lives, and in individual conduct. That is the root of the significance of the individual. This idea, belongs to both Taoism and Confucianism. Thus individual conduct is never lost sight of in group behavior. The degree in which the underlying Tao is manifested or seen in individuals varies also. To some extent men's individual significance tends to vary in accordance with this fact. Both these systems of thought call on men to be men of character first of all. They may thus be looked on as philosophic—religious systems. Buddhism is more definitely a religion in its outward aspects at least, though it is also philosophic at bottom. Buddhism also lays emphasis on the individual as regards religion. Buddhist ideas of salvation are individual throughout. The possibility of individual experience is its keynote. Devotional meditation is one of the principal Buddhist practises. This is also a matter of individual effort. Perhaps this emphasis on individual experience and effort, both aspects of self-expression, is one of the explanations why Buddhism finally fitted into the Chinese mind so firmly. It accords with the major emphasis

64. See page 34.
65. Three Religions of China, Soothill, page 25.

of Taoism and Confucianism. And this Buddhist emphasis on the individual has overcome the retarding effect on its influence of a weak social application as regards family life as such.

Ideas of religious and social responsibility also head up in the individual. Individual responsibility is an inherent aspect of self-development. The Chart of Ethics says, "If you fail in anything seek help in yourself." The Confucian idea, an idea also shared apparently by Taoist philosophers in the main, is that man's nature is originally good. It is part of and one with the original Tao. Human nature is derived from the universal nature, "nature" being in this connection something primarily ethical. Every man is born with an endowment that is good and that varies with individuals. This original endowment of goodness may be developed or allowed to deteriorate. One's original goodness may grow or shrink. For the original degree of "nature" or endowment individuals are not responsible. But for its development or deterioration each person is *individually* responsible. To develop one's self aright is the root of everything for everybody.[66] From the top to the bottom of society men are individually responsible for choosing the good and holding it fast.[67] This is buttressed by Buddhism which makes each individual responsible to some extent for his own sins and largely responsible for that effort which may break the chain of the past and set him free to travel on the road to eternal bliss. A commentary on the Taoist Book of Rewards and Punishments warns men that they must *make up their mind* to change their disorderly life and avoid and fear further sin. They must resolve not to committ sin.[68] A common motto pasted on temple walls is, "(Prayer) If sincere will be effectual" (誠則靈). The effort to be sincere is individual. Self-examination inculcated by Confucianists and practised by some of the modern eclectic sects is necessarily individual. To guard against being self-deceived calls for intensive individual scrutiny. As the effort to be good is an individual matter so the effects of sin are individual and personal. Even popular proverbs show that, "Each man must suffer for his own sin."[69] It is true that along side of these individualistic ideas of responsibility there have been notions of corporate responsibility which have sometimes been put into practise. Nevertheless when it comes to the religious experience and significance the individual stands out. The Chinese do not look on themselves as sinning or being saved in groups. Each soul must stand and answer for itself.

It is clear from the above that in China the individual is far from being absorbed in the social mass. Individual self-consciousness is more

66. Great Learning, Introduction.
67. Doctrine of the Mean, XX, 18.
68. Weiger, Moral Tenets and Customs in China, page 265.
69. Chinese Religion seen through the Proverb, Plopper, page 285.

or less a normal aspect of the psychology underlying the place and significance given to the individual. Furthermore the psychological importance of the individual is an articulating point in social life and thought. Illiteracy and fate may dull for many the sense of personal responsibility and significance. Yet even the illiterate are faced in various ways with issues linked up with personal conduct. The one in China has a worth that is not smudged into the picture of the many. This importance of the individual in China may be further shown and elucidated by brief references to certain things said about and expected of him.

The individual is expected to make the attainment of character his first aim. Many may think that an *easy* compliance with the wishes of the crowd is their chief obligation. But that is far from being the recognized and exclusive requirement. Each man is expected to live out his own nature. This being one in kind with the nature of the universe is ethical first. There is such a thing as a right course of action. Life must be lived right side up. The passions and emotions must be in control of the mind. For self-control is an essential part of self-development.[70] The first thing to strive for, whatever one's station in life, is to be good. This is expected of every individual. He must not, it is true, *forget* the needs and wishes of others. But he cannot hide behind the wishes of others as an excuse for being bad. The Master himself said, "He who is under obligation to do a virtuous act should not yield (even) to his Master."[71] The Christian moral appeal to upright living does not fall on closed Chinese ears or minds. It is usually understood whatever the actual efforts at being good may be. The categorical imperative is embedded in Chinese psychology whether the phrase be known or not. All men are under obligation to be morally worth-while.

The fundamental motive as emphasized by Confucius is loyalty to one's self.[72] Conscientious effort to walk the "Heavenly Way," (天 道) which is a part of one's nature, is a motivating influence that should never be absent. The word "heart" (心), so often used, seems to me to be in many cases equivalent to our use of the term "spirit." In such cases it is the highest and spiritual part of man. Loyalty, therefore, to the highest known of one's own spirit sometimes means loyalty to the highest spiritual influences known in the universe. For he who knows his spirit knows Heaven.[73]

The test of individual character is sincerity of purpose.[74] Achievement and foresight have their place. There are times when one must

70. Great Learning, VII, 1.
71. Analects, XV, XXXV.
72. Analects IV, XV, 1.
73. Mencius, VII, I, 1.
74. The Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming, Henke, page 12.

act in a measure blindly. But one can always test the purpose of an act. Most people know whether or not they are doing what they ought to. To decide whether one's purpose is sincere or not can only be an individual matter. In the last analysis all problems come before the tribunal of one's own conscience. The individual must be his own judge. The keynote of individual character is individual sincerity of purpose.

Further emphasis is laid on the meaning of the individual in the two chief virtues.[75] These are conscientiousness and reliability (忠 信). Hold fast your integrity. Change not for custom. Do your duty and let good or ill fortune come as it may. These personal standards of effort are included in the "Chart of Chinese Ethics." The highest human virtues are thus seen to be mainly personal. These are the principles that apply to business relations as well as others. China's commercial ethics are not based on any opportunistic policy or commercial expediency alone. The Chinese business man, therefore, no more than his Western counterpart is not honest simply because it pays. His honesty is built on sound foundations.

The chief aim of education has been the development of individual character. This education being humanist mainly endeavored to enable the student to "investigate" and understand himself and others. The Great Learning is one of the four chief canonical books. It has been widely studied by Chinese boys in the past, and quotations therefrom used to decorate homes in lieu of pictures. It is used much less as a text-book now partly, at least, because of the difficulty of its language. It might, it seems to me, well be called the Great Lesson (of Life) for it deals primarily with the important question of the development of individual character. Perhaps its weakness is that it talks about morals instead of putting life situations before the student in which the moral principles live. Nevertheless it clearly shows that the first lesson of life is learning how to develop individual character.

It follows naturally from the above that personal example is the outstanding influence as regards others. This I have already indicated is true of those in authority. Professor T. C. Chao of Yenching University, once said, "The Chinese theory of education is based on the principle of example." Actually what the teacher does is put before what he says. "He first practises what he says and then talks according to his practise."[76] Here is the source of that question already quoted as to whether preachers should first proclaim or practise love.[77] It explains also why the Chinese are uncertain about propaganda. If Christianity is to meet this test it must first demonstrate and then ad-

75. Analects, I, VIII, 2.
76. Analects, II, XIII.
77. See page 31.

vocate its ideas. The Sacred Edict maintains also, that parents who would educate their children rightly must show them a good example. The influence of example upon other men is mentioned in the same Edict.[78]

In connection with this emphasis on self-expression and individual responsibility goes a logical tendency to freedom of thought. The search for the truth, though limited by notions of what the truth is, is urged by Confucius himself. He deplored the fact that his favorite disciple was too ready to accept without question what his Master told him. The Sacred Edict did, it is true, inveigh against strange doctrines. This expresses itself in a popular proverb, "To get rid of heresy and return to orthodoxy."[79] However, persecution even as carried on by Confucianists has not been against ideas or thought as such so much as against organizations and their power.[80] The Chinese are quite individualistic in their attitude to one's right to think. This explains why they seem not to understand that degree of rigidity of the group mind which tends to expel that member of the group who ventures to disagree with its accepted theological and denominational dogmas. As they do not admit that one has a right to push his ideas whether others wish them or not[81] neither do they admit that one must be cut off from the group if his ideas vary therefrom.

The above is borne out by my personal experience. Outside of certain social grooves the Chinese seem to me to be quite individualistic. And even with regard to details which belong within these grooves individual opinion and desire play no inconsiderable part.

How do these individualistic ideas work out in the relation of the one to the many? It appears clear that the one is not lost in the many. Nevertheless in certain ways it is obvious that the many affect the one. This individualism runs to nothing like anarchism though some maintain that Taoism if left alone would land there.

There are some deep roads in the social loess which seem to need attention. In the family the youth, while his arrival at puberty is recognized and his entrance into later adolescence marked as an assumption of weighty dignities, yet he does not strictly "come of age," in the Western sense at least. Is it necessarily a settled question that he should? The danger is that in the family the individual will be too subservient. The tendency to look to the seniors may give too free play to the human instinct for domination of others. This may inhibit youthful and new efforts. In early days Huai Nan Tze said, "A fundamental principle is that the elder should create and the youth should

78. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, pages 91, 109.
79. Chinese Religions seen through the Proverb, Plopper, page 264.
80. Chinese Recorder, June, 1926, pages 408-409.
81. See page 29.

follow."[82] Others have held a similar idea. But ordinarily elders do not create abundantly. Hence the social mass has tended somewhat to inhibit youthful originality. This is an inversion of what normally happens when youth is left free. Respect for elders is thus overdone.

Virtue (Tê) is the state of being in conformity with the original Tao of the universe and the individual nature. This Tao, also, embodies itself in the social life and mind. Out of this arises the prevalent Chinese emphasis on social harmony as an ideal claiming the allegiance of all individuals. This ideal of social harmony is sometimes taken as being so prominent in the Chinese mind as to almost obliterate the value of the individual. This assumption does not fit in with what has been shown above. It is, however, an emphasis that balances that on the individual. Social harmony and individual worth are the two sides of one ideal. Each personality is in *itself worthwhile*. Each personality, however, must reveal its worthwhileness in socially harmonizing activities. The one must live with and through the many. This ideal of social harmony is not based on any arbitrary direction of group activities by mere weight of numerical strength. Each individual is to seek for and promote the unifying elements in any human situation. These unifying elements are the core of the group mind. No personality is assumed to be master of all of them. The value of the individual, however, consists in ability to master and express his individuality through them. Thus the most valuable personality is that one which can express itself most fully through and with other personalities. This is a most valuable emphasis.

Is not this emphasis on the interaction of individualities coupled with their significance as a fundamental aspect of a worthwhile social life another of China's possible contributions to the world?

This worthy emphasis on harmony runs through all Chinese thought. But it involves the danger of being overweighted. Every virtue has its vice. As a result the individual may be subordinated overmuch to prevalent social ideals. His individuality may not always have sufficient free play. He may slip into holding only dominant group ideals. (There is nothing peculiar to China about this!) His personal ideals and experience may be obscured. For instance some Chinese Christian leaders claim that Chinese Christians have collective faith but lack individual faith. Perhaps this is due to a too easy acquiescence in collective ideals. It may be due, on the other hand, to overemphasis by Christian groups themselves on denominational ideas and insufficient cultivation of individual religious experience. The Christian Church may, and to some extent does, it seems to me, slip into the same danger as Chinese society. A personal faith calls for some individual approach. But the group ideals may be so prominent that the individual experience is swallowed

82. Huai Nan Tzu, Book XIII, Rev. Evan Morgan's translation.

up in them. A living faith is personal. More emphasis on personal religious experience and on these Chinese emphases on individuality would correct this weakness in personal faith. After all religious experience must be individual to mean anything. When it is realized individually it may be applied socially.

It is in connection with these overemphases that Chinese life is now struggling to change itself. Where the problem of readjusting marriage relations, for instance, is under consideration the tendency is to allow the individual more real expression of personality while at the same time retaining much of the old structure. This will be dealt with more at length in the next chapter.

Further light may be thrown on the other side. The one is not lost in the many. Neither is the one allowed to be lost to the many. The importance of the one is recognized. But he does not and cannot live as one only. He must be linked up with the many. Alongside of "conscientiousness to self" is put "consideration of others."[83] This is the main theme of Confucius. "Find your own good in the common weal" is an ideal included in the "Chart of Chinese Ethics" also.

The individual is expected to develop his character and express himself in an *immediate* social relationship. He is expected to exhibit his character at home. This has to some extent been extended to the rural community. In civic relationships it has been rather a weak factor. In national relationships it has been still less in evidence. The radii of this circle of the obligation to live out the character in social relationships are now being rapidly extended to the city and the nation. But this is a new field of self-expression. Much experimentation will be necessary before China will solve this problem. The principle at the base of Chinese society is sound. The horizon of its range of application needs to be pushed farther back. Christ aimed to have personality express itself in the relationship of the Kingdom—a social field of living. The Christian and the Chinese principles are therefore one. But both the Christian and the Chinese need to study how to express personality in social relationships in a scientific and adequate way. This is a common need and task. High principles work at low pressure if left to themselves. Philosophy about them is insufficient. The water that runs a mill must be *directed* into the mill sluice.

Furthermore according to the Chinese idea individual character and sincerity (in the Doctrine of the Mean "sincerity" seems to be the chief characteristic of ultimate reality) are to be tested by their social or collective effects. Isolated goodness is not the idea of the Confucianist and Taoist. The Buddhists have tried to attain it. That is their defect. This defect they are now trying to remedy. Of this more anon.

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83. Analects, IV, XV, 2.

It has sometimes been said that in the West there is over-emphasis on individualism while in China there is an equal over-emphasis on collectivism. Neither statement is quite correct. In the West individualism throws out extreme aspects at times. In China collectivism has in some aspects developed to an extreme. Beneath the extremes of both civilizations the fundamental working principle is the same. In this regard "Kingdom" Christianity is already naturalized in China. But adequate methods of working the principle are still needed in both China and the West. China knows the worth of the individual. Like the West she needs to learn how to make individual experience more worthful.

China's social unit is the family. The fundamental social value is individual moral worth: its test is social harmony. This is the keynote of Chinese humanism. Not all Chinese are keenly aware of this value any more than all Westerners are fully aware of the Christian value of socialized personalities.

The Christian principle of human equality is based on the moral worth of personalities. Have the Chinese pushed their evaluation of the individual through to its logical conclusion of human equality? It is sometimes said that equality is unknown in China. Is that true?

To some extent the Chinese have confused individual moral worth with intellectual capacity. Brains seem sometimes to be taken as the test of virtue. "The people may be made to follow a course, but not to understand the reason why."[84] Thus did the complex of superiority peep through the sage utterances of Confucius. It was, however, generally assumed that most people could respond to moral influences. Elsewhere[85] Confucius divides men into four classes. (1) Those born with wisdom. (2) Those who acquire it by study. (3) Those who learn in spite of natural limitations. (4) Those who will not overcome their intellectual limitations. This classifies men according to their mental ability. There are really only two classes, the intellectually superior or wise and the intellectually inferior. These are again subdivided according to the persistence with which they pursue knowledge. This involves a moral quality. This classification, however, makes it appear as though intellect is the line of demarcation between the "superior" and the "inferior" man. The Doctrine of the Mean follows the same line of argument.[86] But here advance is made as to the results achieved. The knowledge acquired and the moral achievement connected therewith are the same in quality. It must, moreover, be kept in mind that China's most honored men have been those who in addition to being morally great have produced and passed on to posterity intellectual achievements. This is true of both Taoism and Confucianism. In Buddhism religious and

84. Analects, VIII, IX.
85. Analects, XVI, IX.
86. Doctrine of the Mean, XXX, 9.

ethical significance have, for the mass of the people at least, been the predominating factor. Nevertheless in this quotation from the Doctrine of the Mean the moral element involved is uppermost and most important. The moral achievement is taken as superior to the intellectual capacity. Thus the possibility of moral equality is recognized. Personal morality is the essential necessity for prince and peasant. It is interesting to note in passing that Origen also divided men into three levels on the basis of their intellectual capacity. (1) Those with active intellects. (2) Those with shallow habit of mind. (3) Those born wholly obtuse. This, of course, affected men's understanding of the true knowledge.

The Chinese have, then, to some extent confused the intellectual capacity of the individual with his moral significance. They have also, though to a somewhat lesser extent, confused his social function with his moral significance and potentialities. The Book of Changes mentions three social functions or relationships. (1) Husband and wife. (2) Parents and children. (3) Ruler and subject. The Book of Rites (Li Chi) makes it seven, adding, (4) Old and young. (5) Younger and older brother. (6) Friends. (7) Host and guest. The usual list is (1) Ruler-subject. (2) Father-son. (3) Husband-wife. (4) Elder-younger brother. (5) Friends. The order of these social functions varies. The Book of Changes puts the husband-wife function first: the Book of Rites makes first the parent-child function. Mencius reduced the relations to two which he arranged, (1) Father-son (2) Ruler-minister. The more common and apparently later arrangement puts the function of ruler-subject first. The changes in arrangement register changes in social emphasis. These social functions or arrangements are ordained by Heaven, said Kaou-Yaou, Minister of Justic to Shun. Thus from an early time these social functions are traced back as part of the original scheme of things. This means that social distinctions and functions originate in the same source as the intellectual and moral endowments. Right here is the explanation, for instance, of the social position of woman in China. It is a functional position. I have stated that[87] it is assumed in China that some are born to toil and some to rule. It might, indeed, look as though logically everyone in China would be expected to remain in that social function or sphere in which he happens to be born and which Kaou-Yaou said it was given to those of his ilk to enforce. As a matter of fact this has not happened. It has been possible for one, mainly through education, to pass out of the station into which he was born to others. This possibility involves a recognition of essential equality of opportunity.

It is clear, then, that in spite of this frequent tendency to confuse intellectual endowments, social functions and individual moral signi-

87. See page 21.

ficance there has at times been a definite recognition of human moral equality.

As a matter of fact Chinese thinkers are not consistent on this point. Most of them do not seem to have thought the problem through. Mencius came as near to a logical position as any of the others. Nevertheless the emphasis on human moral equality is at times carried to its logical conclusion. Confucius twice said "Have no friends not equal to (like) yourself."[88] This is sometimes taken as an argument for a Confucian belief in the rightness of human inequality. But such an inference cannot be fairly drawn from these statements. Elsewhere Confucius himself says it is good to make friends with the upright, the faithful and well informed.[89] Mencius pushes this point still further.[90] Friendship is not a matter of age, station or relatives. "Friendship with a man is friendship with his virtue."[91] It is quite evident, then, that it is ethical likeness or equality which is to be taken as the basis of friendship. Friendship is possible between all those ethically similar, even though they are situated differently, economically and socially. This seems to me to be the Christian principle also.

The Chinese, therefore, have had and acted upon a recognition of the moral equality of individuals. This has included some equality of opportunity, equality of moral responsibility to act up to one's obligations and the possibility of equality in moral worth. All individuals were under obligation to develop themselves ethically. The ethical merit achieved by sincere effort amounts to the same in all cases.[92] The confusion of intellectual endowment, social function and moral significance is not greater in China than it is in the West. In China at times the individual's moral worth has been looked on as correlating with his intellectual capacity. Rulers were, therefore, sometimes wrongly looked up to as being greater in moral worth than their subjects. This may explain why the ruler-subject function came to be put first. Yet at times those in authority—this was not so much in evidence in later times—met on the basis of their moral equality rather than on that of their social function.

This recognition of moral equality may be seen in practise also. Women, though looked on as in some sense inferior because their social function was somewhat limited, were yet often allowed to acquire some education. Within the home, also, they enjoyed much freedom and honor varying with their age and family status. Servants, even, have much freedom and there is a democracy of intercourse between them and their employers which would jar many aristocratically-minded

88. Analects, IX, 3; XXIV.
89. Analects, XVI, IV.
90. Mencius, Book V, Wan Chang, part II, chap. III.
91. Legge's translation.
92. Doctrine of Mean, XXX, 9.

Western households. In China, also, human moral equality has had one less hindrance to its recognition than in some parts of the "Christian" West. Blood has counted for much less in China than in the West. In the last analysis the moral significance of the individual has counted for more than either his blood, brains, brawn or opulence. That is none the less true because many Chinese have forgotten everything but their own advantage. "Profit" was a word Mencius definitely eschewed and Confucius put into the background of his thinking. And at all times in China a leader tends to lose his hold when it has became apparent that he is out for personal gain mainly.

It may, of course, be said that in spite of these fine ideals it is only the personality of power who gets a fair show in China. True enough generally speaking. But that is not a unique Chinese characteristic. In industry also the individual in China suffers tremendously. It is, however, equally true that the outstanding unsolved problem of Western industry is the depersonalization of the worker. In China's still widespread domestic handicraft industries, though these are carried on under devastating hygienic conditions, long hours and low wages, there are a number of personalized aspects that are well worth retaining. These have not, however, been carefully studied as yet and no reliable list of them is in existence. The Commercial Press, Shanghai, the biggest printing establishment in China, has combined modern industrial methods with these old Chinese ideas of personalized relationships between employer and employee in an interesting and remarkable way. It may be said, therefore, that China's ideals of human worth and relationships are not found in dusty tomes only. Many of them can be found in operation in actual human situations. In this as in many other things China, like Western nations, has not fully learned the Great Lesson of Life, the development of the individual.

In the West the city seems to stand out as the social unit. In China it is the family. But in the West, insofar as Christianity may be taken as the basis of its civilization, as in China, the moral significance of the individual is the fulcrum on which the social lever rests and turns. In so far as Christian workers put their emphasis where Christ put it, on the ethical value of personality, Christianity should have no difficulty, when understood, in fitting into the life of China. Furthermore Christianity can also fit into Chinese psychology if in addition to showing how the individual can be "saved" and his personality made to flower its fullest it also *demonstrates* how that flowering personality can express itself through socially harmonizing activities in family, community and national life—*activities* which mean as much of good to the many as to the one.

Perhaps it may be asked, Why should Christian leaders take time to understand the relation of Christian to Chinese ideas in the way

attempted above? The answer seems obvious. Christians are interested in bringing about a religious revolution that shall reform life and its meaning in China. Up to date *many* of the results of their efforts seem to be of a temporary character. We may well close with a quotation from Colonel the Honorable Sidney Peel,[93] whose words have a direct bearing on the problem of the naturalization of Christianity though he said nothing about it. "If you study the history of revolutions, you will find that their results are always temporary, unless they are based on a real development of the national characteristic and history. No individual and no people (we may add no movement) can break the law of causation."

93. The Chinese Social and Political Review, April, 1926, page 371.

CHAPTER V.

The Social Heart

THE family is China's social heart. For many centuries has its steady beat gone on. Through it pulses China's dynamic interests, affections and loyalties. The loyalty which flows from it is rarely deflected. What has the Christian to do with it?

"Christianity will not become indigenous until it has won the family to a greater degree than the present would indicate." This pronouncement was made at the National Christian Conference, Shanghai, 1922.[94] To this was added a few slim paragraphs about propagandizing the Chinese family. Elsewhere something was said about worship in the home. That was all. The Centenary Conference, 1907, and the Continuation Committee Conference, 1913, said less. What does it mean to win the family? Attempts to study the relation of Christianity to the family in China as a social institution are disappointingly meagre. Much more attention has been given to ancestor worship: even in this regard the Christian church has not found the principle of approach. Some attention is now being given to the improvement of the home. Sporadic comments on the family and its significance are also plentiful. But so far the relation of this the most vital aspect of Chinese life to what claims to be the most vital religion is an uncharted and unexplored field.

Three approaches to the clan family system in China are discernnable; by "clan" family is understood a group of related families living together under a central control, and to some extent polygamous. (1) To take it over as it is. (2) To displace it with something wholly Western. (3) To modify it by embodying in it certain Christian values. The first is not feasible from a Christian viewpoint. The second is not desirable from a Chinese viewpoint. The third is the general approach of this chapter. Modification of the Chinese clan family system is both desirable and possible. The Western "small" or "separate" and monogamous family has weaknesses as well as the clan family. Into the Western form of the family Christianity attempts to put certain values, though just what the "Christian" family in contradistinction from the "Western" family is, it would, on the basis of practice, be difficult to say.

The main question is, "Is it advisable or possible to secure in China a Christian clan family, as over against the Christianized Western family?" What I have to say in developing this approach and attempting a partial answer to this last question is culled mainly from conferences and discussions with Chinese. Chinese literature is also utilized since many features of the clan family as it now exists are ancient in origin.

94. The Chinese Church, 1922, page 261.

Christianity will not be naturalized in China until it has woven itself into China's social heart. This citadel of Chinese civilization will be the last to yield to outside influence. Buddhism has for nearly two milleniums tended to weaken the emphasis on family life: it has not attempted to reform it. Its steady rythmic flow has not varied one iota as the result. China has absorbed what it wanted of Buddhism. Family life has just gone on. Christianity emphasizes family life but cuts into the Chinese family system. In keeping with Western marriage ideas (a part of Christianity as it has come to China) Western Christians working in China have apparently assumed that the Chinese group control of the family would in time be displaced by that of the two most concerned. In centres where the impact of the West has been heavy some Chinese have tried to act on this assumption. The net result is uncertainty as to how the family should be set up and controlled in China. This uncertainty has been deepened by modern industry and education. Industry tends to undermine the old family system by scattering its members as a result of their going abroad to find work and through the lifting of the economic value of women. Modern education enhances the natural desire of both men and women to choose their mates for themselves. Since also education in China does not proceed at the same pace for men and women it tends to divide culturally those betrothed in early life. Here arises a conflict between desire for a cultural equal as a mate and the will of the family. For some the conflict becomes acute. This does not make for happiness. The practice of divorce in China seems to be gaining ground partly owing to the desire to break off undesired early betrothals, partly through emphasis on individual wishes, sometimes because a woman declines to marry a man who has other wives, and partly through the bad example of the West. The ramifications of Chinese family relationships entail in many cases a crushing economic burden for those wishing to set up a "modern family." Very few "modern" Chinese families succeed in breaking away from these burdens though some may lighten them.

For the masses of the Chinese people, mainly agricultural, the ancient ideals and practises still hold sway. So strong is the influence of the family as a social unit in China that there are not wanting Chinese leaders who claim that Christianity should try to win the family as a unit and cease to lay such exclusive stress on the winning of the individual. In fine it is high time something be understood about fitting the Christian religion into China's social heart. An achievable *terminus ad quem* is urgently needed. At present it is impossible to tell what the Christian Movement aims at or expects to achieve in this matter. The "Christian" Western family can only be set up in China through the displacement of the clan family. This contingency is quite unlikely. One factor is that the clan family is grounded in China's agricultural

thought life. This includes the great majority of the Chinese people. The Christian Church will not escape the influence of this great majority. It will make for modification rather than displacement of the clan family.

The somewhat easy response to "modern" influences on the part of a small minority of the younger generation in China is now giving way to a desire to retain what is good in the clan family. At the same time there is a rising desire to prune off some of its dead or useless branches.

In this situation certain questions demand study. "What is worth while in the clan system?" "What needs to be or might be changed?" "What Christian or common emphases should be set up as the aim?" It is such questions as the above that have led me to try to analyze the situation and indicate some of the principles which must control the search for a solution. With details of family life I shall not deal much. But if family life in China is to be Christianized we must know better than we now do where Christian principles might or should come in. For myself I do not any longer assume that the Chinese clan family system must necessarily give place to the so-called Western separate or small family system or even the "Christian" Western family. China's modern family problem is one of permeating an old system with new features and giving proper emphasis to certain principles embedded therein rather than that of seeking to substitute another system.

Christianity's most acute and baffling problem in China is in its relation to the family. Education will mow down the grass of China's superstitions. But the clan family system being a mixture of good and bad, as will appear later, and a sturdy tree cannot be thus easily lopped off. It is with considerable trepidation that I offer this analysis of the problem of family life in China. Nothing said is thought of as final. Our easy assumptions of what should be done must, however, give place to a solution adapted to China.

In China, then, the clan or group is the dominating factor in family life. Only slowly have I come to realize that embedded in this clan system are a number of good features.

The rate and ease of divorce is growing in the West. Whatever one's attitude towards divorce *per se* this fact indicates an increasing instability in family life that is alarming. The family, as once understood, threatens to become a system of consecutive polygamy and polyandry based on passing whims. In China up to date the reverse has generally been true. Divorce has, it is true, been easy for the man. Taking the initiative therefor was his prerogative alone. A wife might be divorced for any one of seven faults and some other reasons.[95] And yet divorce does not seem to have been unusually common or easy in China.

95. Outlines of Chinese History, Li Ung Bing, page 51: Chinese Family Law, Mollendorff, page 17.

The woman was not left without protection against the whims of the man. Three reasons might operate against a husband's arbitrariness. (1) If she had kept with him the full three years of mourning for his parents. (2) If he passed from poverty to affluence and honor after marriage with her. (3) If the wife found herself without relatives to whom she might go. Furthermore her consent was sometimes necessary.[96] Neither was it easy to get rid of a concubine. Back of all this is another and a better explanation. It was the rule in ancient times that the relation of husband and wife should be long enduring.[97] In general, therefore, the family system in China has been stable. A matrimonial union set up on the will and controlled in the interests of the group did not apparently succumb very easily to the whims of individuals. Even betrothals are difficult to dissolve.

This tendency towards family stability does not rest alone on the fact that the wishes and whims of the individual are subordinated to the will of the group. The family is the economic as well as the social unit. Mutual economic interests are another binding tie. There is, however, a more significant bond than this. Though the will of the individual was not expected to operate in setting up another family section yet love and respect were its basic bonds. As in the government so in the family, ethical love was the foundation. "Without loving there can be no (real) union, and without respect the love will not be correct."[98] The clan might force a couple to live together. Their intimate relationship, however, was not expected to rest on external or clan authority alone.

The roots of Chinese family life went even deeper than this. It was religious as well as social. It was part of that order of life arising out of human relationship with the universal Tao. It was not based on fleeting passions alone. Mencius said that the greatest human relationship is that of male and female living together.[99] Yet though this relationship was conferred by Heaven it took sagely strength and wisdom to tread this way.[100] When two entered into the marital union they worshipped Heaven. Some Chinese thinkers even seemed to recognize that in regard to its function of propagation the family is a method of cooperation with the Supreme Power. Ku Liang (Fifth century B.C.) said, "The female alone cannot procreate: the male alone cannot propagate: Heaven alone cannot produce a man. The three collaborating man is born." To the above must be added ancestral worship which through the close connection it set up between the living

96. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, page 193: Chinese Family Law, Mollendorff, page 17.
97. Yi King, Sacred Books of the East, Legge, Appendix VI, Section II, page 437.
98. Sacred Books of the East, Max Muller, Li Ki, Book XXIV: 9.
99. Works of Mencius, Book V. Chap. II: 1.
100. Works of Mencius, Book VII. Chap. XXXVIII.

members of the family, particularly the males, with the welfare of those in some sort of a disembodied state,* gave to the family a social-religious function. This came to be the dominating influence in family life. It was a common bond of worship. The same bond held the early Roman family together. In the West it should be noted that the religious bond of family life, as seen in some sort of religious sanction and family worship, is weakening. That may be one explanation of its tendency towards instability.

The clan system also stresses "filial piety," the consideration on the part of the junior members of the family for the respect and welfare of its seniors. Such consideration for those within the family is the guide for the attitude to others outside of it.

Within the clan system also executive authority is centralized. This centralization of authority is intended to work for the conservation of social values. It may also work towards autocratic domination. To this further reference will be made.

Within the clan family there is a large amount of cooperation for common ends and a sharing of common economic resources. Here is where the difficulties of a couple who wish to set up a separate home come in. They cannot have an exclusively small family purse. They are expected to share their economic resources with their relatives. This psychology of cooperation and sharing are virtues to be retained and extended, with proper safe-guards, to extra-family interests.

Family cooperation and sharing become in effect a sort of economic insurance for parents, the aged, the incapable and the unfortunate. Such need not want so long as they are within the clan circle and have relatives more prosperous than themselves. Most unhappy is that man who loses all his relatives or who for some misdemeanor or mischance finds himself outside the clan circle. Within the circle of clan interests the principle of, "Help one another" prevails. Christianity has broken to some extent the obligation to participate in local festivals. It has not, I think, weakened this principle of mutual interdependence and sharing within the family. It should not. For these principles are in essence Christian.

This clan family system, furthermore, aims to control the sex-instinct for social rather than personal ends. Its gratification is not a matter of the individual alone. One tendency in the West is to separate sex-experience from its biological accompaniments. The Chinese have not made any distinction at this point. The Lun Tao Te (Moral Tract) looks on marrying and begetting children as the great rule of life.[101]

Family relationships in China also involve a social bond which has been to some extent the basis of national consciousness and may yet

*See Appendix I.

101. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, page 161.

be the primary feature of China's national solidarity. The psychology of family relationship and government is so ingrained in Chinese life that it may be necessary to find a form of national relationship and government through which it may express itself. The Chinese have to learn how to act together as one national family. In the United States economic interests play the major part in national solidarity. Perhaps China will yet show the world how to work the psychology of family loyalty into a national government.

Finally since the clan tends to concentrate attention on its outstanding members it provides, in many instances at least, inspiration to individual moral effort in the high ideals and character of family ancestors. The bad are not held up for emulation.

It should be noted that all the above worthwhile features of the clan system are essentially Christian with the exception of the overemphasis on a centralized family authority and a less distinct emphasis on the relation of the family to national consciousness. But with regard to this latter it must be kept in mind that the "Kingdom" relationship of Christians is essentially that of the family. It would seem, therefore, that the relation of the family to national consciousness and solidarity is implied in Christianity also. Whether, however, the governments of "Christian" countries will be based finally on "Kingdom" principles is a question for the future to settle. If the Christian ideal of nation- and world-wide human relationships is that of the family then while there is evident need of tempering the over-centralization of authority in the clan family yet it should be possible to work the Chinese idea of the family as the basis of national consciouness and government into a wider Christian program.

But there is another side. The clan system has a dark as well as a bright side. To this we may now turn our attention.

The clan system is a tower of Pisa. It leans overmuch towards the accentuation of the rights of the many over the one. The submission of the individual to the group is overdone. There is overmuch submission to centralized authority. This makes it all too easy for tyrannical dispositions to indulge their bent. The father and, after his death, the mother have the power of death over the family. The same law was found among the Visigoths, the Gauls and the Romans.[102] This power does not seem to have been generally exercised recklessly in China. In fact its actual exercise seems to be rare though I was recently informed of a case where a Christian had buried alive his recalcitrant grandson. It is tempered by the moral obligation of those wielding it to be just. Excessive or unjust use thereof might induce resentment that would clog the family wheels. Modern trends and laws

102. Chinese Family Law, Mollendorff, page 18.

in China tend to take this power out of the hands of elders. But it will be a long time before the new laws displace this old family law. The development of a public opinion strong enough for the enforcement of a new law goes slowly. Most of the weaknesses of the clan system centre in this undue power of elders or parents. Even now, however, public opinion or official action may check it when used excessively or unjustly.

The motive embedded in ancestral worship and which enhances the desire for children, especially males, in order that they may pay the necessary rites to their ancestors, is another weakness. It has helped to justify concubinage and add to China's population problem.

There is also overmuch economic dependence on the group. The members of the family tend to lean up against one another too much. Family cooperation thus becomes an opening for exploitation of the family by its weak or indolent members: family sharing becomes an opening for lazy reliance on its more able and willing members. The fillip to personal effort to earn something that comes from economic necessity is thus lightened. As a result individual initiative and independence are inhibited rather than released. The moral balance is on the wrong side of the ledger.

All this means an unequal distribution of family responsibility. This bears fruit in a one-sided idea of duty. More may be thought of what the family should or may do for one than what one should do for the family. The economic effort falls on too few. The elder often controls entirely the disbursement of the family funds making others, however, share with him the responsibility for acquiring them. This habit and psychology of economic dependence on the family explains to some extent the ease with which many Chinese Christians slip into dependence on foreign sources for their economic support.

The clan family idea of cooperation and sharing might easily be made the basis for a nation-wide organization if paternalistic authority were merged more into that of a shared family authority. But here another difficulty appears. The clan system has to a tremendous extent actually absorbed the devotion of the individual. Vis-a-vis the state, therefore, the clan system has tended against national solidarity and loyalty. Can this devotion of the individual to the family be extended to include the larger family, the nation? Extra-family friendship and rural community cooperation are already practised to some extent as I have shown. The problem of correcting this limited loyalty is largely one of education and wider intercourse. Both these are now appearing on the horizon of China's social life.

We have shown that the family has a religious as well as a social sanction. But both these motives tend to centre in the perpetuation of the happiness of the heads of the families. They are thus at one and the

same time undemocratic and impermanent. They are undemocratic because the happiness of some members of the family is looked on as of superior value to that of all. They are impermanent because the motive tends to shift from one elder to another. Of course the head of the family is supposed to look out for the good of all. Actually the good of some takes first place.

More serious than any of the weaknesses so far given is the fact that the clan system tends to work against the free development of personality. It militates against what I have shown is looked on in China as the fundamental social value—the ethical development of the individual.[103] Family life tends to swamp this social ideal! There is overmuch family interference in individual affairs. Interference in the affairs of young married people by their older relatives is common everywhere. In the clan system, however, it is linked with centralized family authority. Thus it may easily become a mailed fist.

Perhaps the chief inroad of the clan system upon individual personalities is seen in the almost entire absence of any voice in the choice of a life mate. The consent of those about to be married was never considered necessary. The man could sometimes back out of a betrothal but the woman was denied even this. The exercise of personal choice is the keynote of moral development. To ignore it in such a personal matter as marriage can hardly mean anything less than a cramping of personality even though through the practise of family discussion and the middle-man (or woman) those about to be married often found a chance to make effectual side-remarks about their own marriage. Personal choice of a mate does not, it is true, insure permanent affection between those mated. The rising divorce problem in the West attests this. Yet neither does having to live with a mate chosen for one by the family prevent the coming of affection. Romance and affection are found within the clan system as well as elsewhere. Married affection is a flower that grows spontaneously. It is found. It cannot be forced. Where affection withers the clan interests tend to hold the married couple together. The Chinese are apt to think that young people in the West are much freer in their choice of mates than they actually are. And Westerners are apt to think that the clan system blights marital love much more than it actually does.

The fundamental issue is whether a marriage is a union of families or a union of individuals. Both types of union are found in the West, though the emphasis is on the second. The Western custom of giving away the bride is a vague recognition of the first. In China marriage is mainly a bond of love between two families. This idea has its roots in the past.[104] The two ideas might be combined.

103. Page 48.
104. Yi King, Sacred Books of the East, Legge, Book XLI, 1.

The clan system, therefore, puts overmuch restriction on individual freedom in regard to a matter that is tremendously individual. Such restrictions tend rather against than towards the flowering of personality. Self-development in ability to choose a mate is at least as important as many other aspects of self-development. Families are not set up purely for the benefit of a larger family group. In China the family decides one's mate. In the West mating often just happens. Both need to educate young people into the full meaning of this significant choice. Neither in China or in the West are text-books found which set forth the laws of worth-while mating.

It naturally follows that in China there has been overemphasis on the perpetuation of race and clan particularly of the clan or family. This has tended to lower the age of marriage. In early times, moreover, marriage was not a matter of free choice. It was required. A special mandarin saw to it that no man remained unmarried after thirty and no woman after twenty.[105] Male children being a necessity concubinage was easily rationalized. As a rule there was only one legal wife. Technical polygamy has not been the vogue. Concubines were sometimes made wives. In the time of The Seven States (Third century, B.C.) polygamy was declared a crime punishable with death. Concubinage is ostensibly permitted in order to secure offspring. In practise it has become an indulgence of the rich. I have sometimes heard the argument advanced that concubinage is justified because the man finds that one woman does not provide a sufficient range of companionship. This is a transparent rationalization. For no one advocates polyandry or some similar arrangement in order to meet the woman's need for variation in companionship. What becomes also of the poor man's need for companionship?

Throughout the whole family system woman is too much subordinated. She is thought of too exclusively in terms of her sex-function.. The significance of her personality is dimmed by her functional significance. The clan system plays too much into the hands of the male. The double standard of sex gratification is thus legalized as well as condoned, which latter is the prevailing attitude in the West. It is, however, true that concubinage as compared with the all too prevalent illegal promiscuous sexual relationships, well known in the West as well as in China, offers somewhat greater protection to the woman. But this protection is too costly. While Chinese women have not been denied education yet it has been thought less necessary for them than for men. Education had an economic as well as a cultural significance. The woman's economic significance was always at a low ebb. This comparative lack of emphasis on the education of women resulted in leaving the children during their most formative period exposed to

105. China of the Chinese, Werner, page 114.

ignorant mothers. The effect of this has been ignored. Furthermore the woman's lesser significance as a participant in ancestral worship has also tended to her undue subordination.

The clan system, therefore, as carried on has not only worked against the development of that moral aspect of personality tied up with the exercise of free choice of a mate and the carrying of responsibility, it also works much more against the personality of the woman.

In approaching the problem of China's family life the Christian must strive first of all to be fair. This can only be done by keeping in mind some common family or sex-relation problems which are not yet solved in either the "Christian" or the Chinese civilizations. The majority of marriages in the West are permanent. Yet such unions break up with increasing ease. It is sometimes said that the possibility of easy and frequent dissolution of matings is a necessary preliminary to the search for permanent marital companionships between the sexes. I doubt it. Slower, more cautious and better understood matings would be much better. In any event both civilizations have a number of unsettled problems which bear upon sexual and family life. The single standard of sex-gratification is not dominant in either case. Sex-union in the West tends to be too individualistic. Sex-individualism is becoming rampant. In China the individual is less free. Yet in both countries promiscuous sexual relationships are all too prevalent. Prostitution is a common evil. Neither concubinage nor free matings have eliminated it. In both cases it tends to be popularly accepted as a normal necessity.

The place of parental experience in the finding of a life-mate is still unsettled in both East and West. In China the consent of the parents has always been essential. In the West practise tends the other way. There would seem to be a middle ground. This neither has yet found.

"Concubinage works against family harmony." To some extent this frequently made charge is true. But it is not always true. The winning of family harmony is not a solved problem in the West either. Divorce is sometimes defended on the ground that those desiring to separate have not found harmony together. Both civilizations have much to learn in this regard.

One problem involved in attempts to change the family system in China, is that of the economic basis of support. Is the small family really more expensive per capita than the clan family? This question needs serious study. Inasmuch as a young married Chinese couple must needs carry their share of supporting other members of their clan or family the expenses of a young couple are apt to be heavier than if they lived separately. But usually a group can live together cheaper per capita than a couple. At least this is the general assumption. For

each married couple connected with a family to live separately means considerable duplication of various expenses such as rent. Here is a new problem. Neither the West or the East have solved it. It needs attention.

What shall be the relation of religion or the church to sexual or family relationships? "Christian" civilization has no one dominating practise: indeed the civil marriage tends to supplant the religious. Chinese practise up to date includes, as we have noted, a religious sanction and a social-religious function or bond. Shall these be thrown over? Missionaries in general act on the basis of a religious sanction—some sort of religious ceremony and common worship—as being essential. But what should be the guiding principle? Nothing more can be said beyond indicating that there is a problem involved here which is nowhere settled.

For both China and the West the relation of the family as a unit to national solidarity is unsettled. China tends to build up a national solidarity on the basis of family psychology, that is unless she makes a tremendous volte face. The West tends to ignore the family in this connection. Where does the family really come in?

And finally the need for training young people for a family life that will mean most to themselves and society is common everywhere.

Before venturing to point out the essential principles or features that might correct the obvious weaknesses of the clan system as seen from a Christian viewpoint I wish to indicate briefly some essentials to the setting up of a family under any system.

In a discussion group recently held with college students the question was asked, How should the economic independence of the married man and woman be secured? Should there be a joint purse or separate purses or both together? Detailed arrangements in this regard depend to no inconsiderable extent upon temperaments. There must, however, be free economic cooperation and independence. Both must equally control the expenditure of funds as touching individual needs. A young married couple should therefore carry their own economic responsibility.

The sex instinct is not an individual matter alone. It should find expression under conditions that work for the development of personality and character. The man and woman must be equal in this regard. Neither must be subordinated to the other. It must be a mutual relationship.

Some of the aims that must needs be kept in mind in utilizing this close relationship for the development of personality are as follows. The experience of companionship must be a major emphasis in sexual mating. In mating, therefore, there must needs be approximation to cultural and spiritual equality. For the clan this means that only those to some extent educated, and so arrived at an age when they can ex-

press their own minds, should be betrothed. This principle if adopted would mean a revolution in the clan system. All early betrothals made in early life and without the consent of those betrothed should be reconsidered if desired by either party concerned.

By the side of filial piety must go parental piety. The clan system needs this emphasis. The West needs more emphasis on filial piety. The duty of the parent must walk with the duty of the children.

Then the whole family should be a place where parents work through their children for a better social future. Temporary unions between parents enhance egoistic whims and so conduce to excessive individualism in the child. Excessive centralized control conduces overmuch submission and a weakening of initiative. Both are influences to be avoided if the family is to be a place to train social citizens. The greatest contribution any one can make to society is good citizens. This being understood the career of motherhood would be looked on as of equal worth with any other career, a point not recognized fully in the West.

And last the family is the place where men and women are enabled to express the sex-instinct while meeting all the responsibilities pertaining thereto. There is a tendency in the West to seek ways whereby sex may find expression altogether apart from the responsibilities and biological outcomes involved therein. Birth control has its place though a discussion thereof is impossible in this connection. But any expression of life that is entirely detached from its consequences and responsibilities, which always exist, leads to license and individualism. Personality cannot be developed by self-expression only. It involves meeting life's ever-present responsibilities also. As far as I see it the danger of sex-individualism is less pressing in China at present than in the West. But the younger generation is beginning to give attention to some Western theories in this regard.

In China the rights of the children need more emphasis. In the West the parents need more recognition in this regard judging by frequent remarks thereon. The rights of children that need to be kept more in the forefront in China are as follows. The state must take over the power of death over them. This is what has happened in the West. The family has been so supreme in China, however, that it will yield this right to the state only very slowly. They must get a start in life under the best hygienic and moral conditions. In China the desire for children is strong enough. The hygienic conditions under which they live need improvement. Where economic conditions permit children are treated with consideration and affection. But children should not be thought of mainly in terms of their part in a social-religious function. Neither must they be desired only in order that the state may have good citizens. They have a personality of their own. One motive in the desire for parenthood, therefore, should be that of creating new per-

sonalities. The child has an inherent right to live his own life as well as serve society. Infanticide is mainly a matter of economic pressure. This also explains in large part the practise known in some parts of China of selling young children, mainly girls, into domestic service.

Children in China do not lack for moral ideals. In so far as China's religions influence children they point in the right ethical direction. And yet they need and have a right to more thorough moral and religious training.

While on furlough recently a friend discussed with me the problem of religious training for the children of Buddhists in Honolulu. He complained that the youngsters he dealt with were all inveterate liars. This he charged up in part to a lack of Buddhistic teaching on the value of truth-telling. As to whether or not the children of Buddhists are more prone to lying than those raised in "Christian" lands my experience inhibits me from venturing a decision. But I was able to show that Buddhism definitely warns against lying as well as against many other undesirable things.

Even in the clan system companionship between married people is far from being absent. Out of the Chinese home have come many worthwhile personalities. And yet the conditions do not make for that freedom in companionship which should surround children who are to go out in the world and be social companions. The theoretical inferiority of women is not stressed in the Chinese home. The practise of concubinage has resulted in the recognition in law of thirteen kinds of mothers in China.[106] Yet the mother has had a value all her own. She has always been honored as such. Not infrequently she attains to family headship. All this helps to balance her theoretical inferiority. And yet inevitably the male attitude of superiority towards the mother will seep into the child's mind. This will work against his learning to look on other people as his moral equals. Personally I have not come across anything in Chinese literature which seriously discusses the question of whether or not woman is the moral equal of man. In any event those aspects of the clan family which do not permit of free companionship work against the spiritual atmosphere of the home. A child exposed to such an atmosphere starts life with a heavy handicap.

Finally the relation of the home to the state might be kept prominent in the home through the cultivation of a general social interest as well as the particular family interest. General education will do this for China as it has for the West. As public education gains ground in China extra-family interests will, with others, take their place. But it should also be possible through various social contacts and literature to increase the extra-family interests of the adults within the home.

106. Family Laws of the Chinese, J. C. Arlington, China Review, Vol. XXV, page 87.

It is plain from the above that China's problem of family life is not going to be settled by any easy displacement of the clan family by the small family. China's family laws and customs will persist for a long time.[107] And comparing the actual achievements of the small family system with the clan system it is not possible to say dogmatically that this should even be attempted. What then might be the Christian approach? What are some of the changes that might be brought about in the clan system with a view to correcting its obvious weaknesses?

The following are offered as suggestions toward a solution—the search for a Christian clan family. They might also form the basis for a Christian objective in China in this regard.

(1) The excessive power of the family or clan through its heads must be modified. The state must to some extent take over these powers. This will only be possible as the idea of the proper dominance of the state over the family becomes a controlling aspect of Chinese thought.

(2) The moral equality of men and women must be recognized. They differ biologically. The effects of this neither can evade. Education for the woman should fit her for life in society and for motherhood. Likewise education should, among other things, fit a man for fatherhood. Mencius agreed that all men may become Yaous and Shuns.[108] This is a matter of equality of moral character. It should be definitely recognized that this is as possible for women as for men. Whether men and women are equal in mental traits and qualities is still an unsettled question: but this need not militate against a recognition of their moral equality.

(3) The marriage relation should be strictly monogamous. Only thus can the moral equality of woman with man be recognized and each have an equal opportunity to develop companionship with a chosen mate. This is why Christianity, though it did not originate it, has become so closely linked up with the monogamous family. It provides the best and most equal chance for the development of personality.

(4) The advice of elders should be sought in the choice of a life mate. But the consummation of a marital union should not be possible without the consent of those to be united. So long as this latter requirement is secured either the elders or the young people concerned might take the initiatory steps.

(5) Whether or not a young married couple in China need always to set up a separate establishment seems doubtful. But it is essential

107. Chinese Family and Commercial Law, Jamieson, page 3.

108. Mencius, Book VI: Chap. II. 1.

that they have more privacy than is obtainable under ordinary living conditions in China.

(6) Economic independence as regards personal responsibilities is another *sina-qua non.* It is as true in the family as elsewhere that unless people actually carry responsibility they will find difficulty in measuring up to their moral responsibilities. This is achieved easier in the small family. But it is not necessarily impossible in the clan family.

(7) There must be fuller sharing of family responsibility. Over-centralization of authority always tends to play into the hands of those wielding the authority. Human nature is built that way. The responsibility for the having and rearing of children should be on their parents. Child bearing should be voluntary and not a matter of any sort of male or social compulsion. Parenthood should be a matter of mutual agreement. The moral dignity of a personality is not recognized until its responsibility for its own acts is recognized, and its acceptance of this responsibility definitely made. These are essential to individual self-respect also. This principle when applied would correct the over-emphasis on the subordination of daughters-in-law: for being the moral equals of their husbands they must share his responsibility.

(8) Companionship between mates should be a major aim in setting up a family. The race must go on. Society must needs be supplied with worthwhile citizens. Even interlocking family interests need not and should not be ignored. But those who intend to live together should also seek for companionship for themselves as well as participate in preserving the race, serving society, and creating new personalities. Were this kept in mind perhaps marriage would be entered into more cautiously in the West. In China it would help to end early betrothals. Of course there is in this search for companionship an unknown quality. No one can prophesy conclusively in advance that any two persons will be able to achieve companionship. Yet companionship should be the one aim in setting up a family. This is, I take it, one distinctive mark of the Christian family. It is most difficult to achieve. Yet when achieved it is incomparable. Both the "Christian" West and China need to study how to achieve it.

(9) There is also needed intensification of the religious basis of the family through a clearer appreciation of the equal worth of all members of the family to God. China tends to measure the value of the individual by that of outstanding individuals in the family. The West tends too much to measure the family by its opportunities for individual satisfaction. Both need to think of it in terms of a mutual relationship to God. Family life needs a religious sanction. What China has in this regard should be clarified and retained. The motive

in having children in order that they may participate in rendering the non-earthly condition of their ancestors acceptable must be given up. It is not scientific to call children into the world in order that they may minister to those no longer in it. This change added to the right of all to decide as to their own marriage and the making of parenthood and childbearing voluntary would do much to offset China's trend to over-population. Whether China desires or is ready for more than this it is difficult to say. But the emulation of worth-while ancestors, a proper attitude towards and commemoration of them should be retained. Other features of "ancestor worship" might also be retained. It has too much of good in it and too much of meaning for the Chinese people to be thrown into the discard. It goes without saying that the family should as a family recognize God. If life in the family is to be considered, as Mencius said, as the highest human relationship then its real values can only be won and conserved by keeping it in touch with the highest universal values. There are, in my thinking, religious values.

The application of the above nine principles to the clan system is not easy. Some such changes, however, are necessary if Chinese young men and women are to have their inborn aspirations for self-direction in this significant relationship realized. And some such set of principles might well be set up as the Christian indispensables of family life. They do not involve breaking up the clan family. They do involve more recognition of personality.

What has been said is offered simply as an approach to the problem. To Christianize the family is to change it to some extent. This means to seek for the Christian clan family. Christianity will not be naturalized in China until this problem has been solved. It will not solve itself. At present little is being done towards solving it. Insofar as its influence affects the family system of China the Christian religion is simply raising questions to which it attempts to give no answers. Christianity must seek to answer the questions it raises. The time has come when some answer to the eager mind of China's youth should come from those who propose for her a new religion and a changed family system. It is hoped that the above analysis may help a little to dig up the ground in preparation for this.

CHAPTER VI.

China as An Equal

THEORETICALLY Western Christians admit the basic equality of all peoples. The world-wide Christian Movement is an effort to work the theory by providing an equal opportunity for all peoples to enjoy "salvation" and by sharing with them whatever goods Western Christians possess. The Christian Movement in China, to be more specific, is motivated by the desire to promote the equal worth, rights and needs the Chinese have in common with all other peoples. Nevertheless the Chinese aver that they are not looked on or treated as equals by Westerners, including therein to some extent Western Christians. This situation is in part psychological and in part factual.

The modern Christian Movement is a white-race movement. Of advocates (sometimes blatant!) of white-race superiority there is no lack. Some recent writers on China have, on the basis of her political discordance, argued for her political incapability. On this is sometimes built up the notion of China's essential moral inferiority also. As the Chinese see things the paternalistic and superiority paint box colors everything that comes out of the West, including religion. In addition some Western Christians harp on the unadulterated superiority of most things they offer China. Through the attitude of others the superiority complex peeps in such phrases as, "We must raise China to our level," "Chinese society is rotten" (heard not infrequently) and the paternalistic assumption that Western Christian workers in China must lead the Chinese to adopt their ways, social and religious. Though held by only a minority of the missionaries such ideas secure a wide circulation, and are generally challenged by the Chinese. This *tacit* assumption of Western superiority (it is not *preached,* of course!) is accentuated by the difference in standards of living obtaining between Western and Chinese Christian workers which is often accepted as the natural and fitting order of things. Western Christians have made no declaration on this knotty situation. Then I have noticed frequently during the last decade that no inconsiderable proportion of missionaries still find one justification for their presence in China in the assumption that the Chinese are naturally and actually on a lower moral level than mission "sending" countries. To question this assumption sometimes creates considerable mental alarm. To suggest that China is probably not morally as black as some paternalistic impressionists paint her has often evoked the question from missionaries, "Why, then, are we here?" Genuine distress accompanies it. Here is evidently a situation that needs illumination and elucidation.

"In what way, then, are or may the Chinese be looked on as our equals?" "May we expect God to work as fully through the Chinese as He has worked through us?" These are not academic or fictitious questions. They point to challenging trails. To make some contribution to the clarification of the problems indicated is the purpose of this analysis. This is needed because the genuineness of the Christian claim that all men are equal is cracking badly under criticism. It is discounted. There is world-wide resentment against paternalism, "Christian" or otherwise. The Christian principle must be made clear. In attempting to analyze this intricate problem I wish to treat it comparatively without being invidious—far from an easy task! Such a clarification of principle is needed in order that Christians may learn how to offset prevalent interracial antipathy, to orient themselves towards China in spite of her backwardness, materially and politically speaking, and to insure to China her own self-respect. Failure in these regards is rapidly silting up the sluiceways of Christian effort.

The first step in our attempted analysis of the problem is to ascertain how the problem of Chinese equality must be approached. Care must be taken to guard against making dissimilarities in racial customs or thought emphases as such, tests of China's right to be considered and treated as an equal. Approaching the practice of Western countries from the negative viewpoint we note that certain aspects of human life are tacitly or openly ruled out of consideration in deciding on the basis of human equality. It is not possible to do more than treat some of these and that only briefly.

Political discordance, so prominent in China at present, cannot be the ultimate test of the Chinese right to equality. As a matter of fact the inference often drawn from this political discordance that the Chinese cannot control or rule themselves does not hold. Family and community authority and control are patent. The problem of national control, however, while being energetically stirred is only slowly crystallizing. In consequence the central government is nominal only, and civil war, banditry and political distraction are rife. Such social eruptions, however, are no argument against China's fundamental human equality, any more than a carbuncle proves one crazy. All peoples have their moments of distraction and madness. Such were the civil war in the United States and the "Reign of Terror" in France, and, going back a little further, there are in the experience of the English the bloody persecutions of Protestants under Mary, the Civil War, and Jeffries' "Bloody Circuit" among the rebels. These political, legal and religious aberrations did not prove these peoples inferior. The Great War, which in view of the *Christian* relationships of the combatants, was really a gigantic civil war and was in effect probably more destructive than the Tai Ping Rebellion, albeit more scientific, did not affect in their own

thinking the human worth of the combatants, though it did raise some troublesome questions in the minds of Asiatics who watched it from the side-lines. Political discordance is bad. China is behind the world in getting rid of it. But it is not a final test of human equality. Western nations still suffer from bad dreams of their own moments of distraction and madness.

Scientific mastery of the environment and the degree of educational acquisition, though highly valuable to society, are not taken as tests of human worth as such. Human worth does not vary with scientific ability or academic degrees. Such is the position of the Christian Church. There is no *special* salvation for doctors of philosophy or church thrones for bishops in science. Equality of educational opportunity is theoretically considered essential on the basis of some fundamental human right quite apart from mental capacity as such. There is as much moral significance in overcoming a hostile environment with crude knowledge and implements as in its conquest with weapons of scientific precision and efficiency. Man is not a machine: the machine is not man's measure. Unfortunately *scientific* mastery of its habitat does not necessarily increase the moral worth of a people. China's illiteracy is a sign of backwardness: she is a few laps in time behind her Western competitors. The cause of this backwardness is economic as much if not more than anything else. China recognizes the human right to equality of educational opportunity.[109] She has not yet been able to make it general.

Physical prowess and hitting capacity are often idolized, yet they are not essential factors in human worth. If they were, then all men would have to measure up to the pugilist or the elephant: Shakespeare would count for less than John L. Sullivan. Neither does physical bulk decide a man's value. That would make avoirdupois the test of human worth and the fat man its standard.

Theoretically race is not taken by Christians as a basis of human equality. Practically it affects the attitudes of many Christians as well as most others towards their fellows. Racial self-conceit dies hard even among Christians. The negro who is, theoretically, the white man's political and legal equal is still in many cases treated as his social and religious inferior: all too often this prevents them worshipping God together. The Christian ideal rises above racial distinctions; the Christian practice indicates a muddled and fearsome mind. This is strange in view of the fact that Christianity has its roots in a Semitic race; though at present it is identified in its main world activities with the white race which itself is quite mixed as to origin. Nevertheless in Christian fellowship as carried on all over the world race distinc-

109. See page 49.

tions disappear to a large extent. Christianity is entering into the life of all races. For the Christian the basis of human equality is not in race.

It is generally recognized that while the number of individuals in different races having desirable traits may vary, yet the same traits are found in all races. Most of the attempts to prove the mental superiority of the white race have been made on tests of other races made up out of the experience of the white race. There are as yet no conclusive tests as to essential race values. Even if it were proved that races differ as to fundamental traits, the differences could not be the ground for any claim of the superiority of the one over the others. For different human traits might be of equal essential value. The artist, scientist and mechanic differ in traits and capacities. But these are not taken as proof of their difference in human worth. Diamonds are valued in terms of gold. Thus different material properties and qualities are given an equivalent value. The same thing is probably true of races, though it seems to take a more astute mental and spiritual eye to see this in the case of races than of baubles. Human vision is still underdeveloped at this point.

Human equality, furthermore, is not expected to walk with economic standards of living or acquisitive capacity. Some do, it is true, measure their fellows by the fatness of their bank roll. But such are not set up as final judges of human worth. Christ did not measure men with money, though many Christians do. A man's worth is decided more by the way he acquires economic values than by their amount. Yet human equality is recognized as in some way real. It must, therefore, be found elsewhere than in a man's or a nation's particular rung on the economic ladder.

Differences in cultural and spiritual emphases do not necessarily mean divergence in essential values. Chinese art, for instance, revolves around nature much more than around the human form, particularly the female. Chinese poetry lauds friendship more than passion. In political philosophy the Chinese attach more importance to personal worth and considerations than to written precedents or constitutions. In religion, also, personal values and relationships take precedence over formulated creeds or sets of principles. This is the Chinese religious genius. But these differences only serve to raise the question, How may these varying emphases *supplement* one another? Chinese emphases in government and religion accord, as a matter of fact, with those of Christ. Anglicans and Baptists differ in religious emphases. This does not affect their equality. The basis of equality is in something quite other than religious emphasis. Divergences in cultural and religious emphases grow out of differences in experience, not out of inequalities in essential human worth. The lungs and the heart, the blood and the

protoplasm differ in function and quality. But their biological value does not vary therewith.

This method of eliminating certain significant aspects of life and civilization as not being the final factors in deciding on the Chinese right to be looked on as equal may appear to miss the mark. But two reasons make such elimination necessary. First, these differences in culture and attainment are constantly used against China's request to be regarded as an equal. Second, they are not taken as the roots of human equality in the West. Human equality consists in something other than mental capacity, economic status, personal or national achievement, or hitting prestige.

Wherein, then, according to the ordinary practice in the West is human equality assumed to lie? We may find a clue in the common dictum, "All men are equal before the law." This is a comparatively modern idea. There was a time when punishment for the same crime varied with one's social status. But now, given the same crime or anti-social act, the law does not (certainly is not expected to!) distinguish between the millionaire and the pauper, the Doctor of Philosophy and the unlearned, the scientist and the navvy: in practice, however, this legal ideal often fails to work. The law rules out of consideration birth as well as all the aspects of human activity and life enumerated above. The basis of human responsibility before the law is moral capacity and worth. This is also the Christian standpoint. It is true that there is some uncertainty as to how far moral conduct correlates with intellectual capacity. Chinese thinkers are confused at this point and Western thinkers are undecided.[110] But neither the law or the Christian Church act on this correlation in the case of those judged normal and sane.

The basis of human equality, then, is in personal moral worth and capacity. The Christian finds this first in a common human relationship to and experience of the Supreme Father. The Chinese find it in man's common origin in and experience of Tao or T'ien. In the second place, the Christian acts on the assumption that all men, irrespective of their social status, mental capacity or achievements can be good. The moral quality of faithfulness, for instance, is equally possible for the street cleaner and the ruler. It does not change with the varying significance of their task. In China all men are expected to practice benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and faithfulness (sincerity).[111] The way of the Superior Man is beyond the intellectual reach of the sage as well as the ordinary man. Yet the common man as well as the sage can walk in that way though neither can fully attain it

110. See pages 48-50.

111. Mencius, Book VI, Part I, Chap. VI, 7.

any more than they can fully understand it.[112] Moral equality is not a matter of mental, economic or cultural standing. In this the Chinese recognize the moral equality of men, though this recognition is somewhat clouded by the Confucian notion of the gradation of love.[113] In the West this clouding is seen in the exaltation of birth and economic status. In the last analysis, however, China and the West find the basis of human equality to be the same: and when claiming that they have an inherent right to be considered as equal it is from this viewpoint that the Chinese approach the problem. For both it is essentially a question of human *moral* worth.

This moral equality may be either potential or actual. Many find no difficulty in admitting the *potential* moral equality of the Chinese: they are much less clear about its *actuality*. Some Christians, probably the minority nowadays, find it hard to believe that a non-Christian people may be the moral equal of their own people. This difficulty makes it easy to conclude that paternalism of some sort is necessary for the Chinese Church.

The question that emerges is, then, Can the Chinese be looked on as actually the moral equals of people from the West and Western nations? In attempting to answer briefly the above question I have in mind questions frequently asked me during the last decade by Western Christians working in or interested in China. The question cannot be answered with finality. We have as yet no scales whereon to weigh the moral worth of any people. My general thesis is that, taken by and large, China's moral worth and conduct as regards certain fundamental matters of morality does not differ from that of her Western contemporaries. That she is backward in certain respects does not weaken this thesis: if she desired to continue so it might. But wherein China is articulate her chief desire is to catch up with the rest of the world in material and scientific achievements. Her moral credit is enhanced by the fact that her task outweighs that which any other nation has had to tackle within its own borders.

China does not lack a sense of moral self-sufficiency. This is sometimes criticised harshly. Is it justified? What are China's moral standards? How far does ordinary conduct correlate with these standards? These questions though knotty cannot be ignored. Easy answers are often given to them which are derogatory to China. In passing on my experience in China so far as it bears on such questions, and in recording such information as has come to hand, I shall deal with the most common aspects of morality, those usually put into the most elementary codes of conduct. The Chinese are not only patiently persistent. They also have a strength of character which has embodied

112. Doctrine of the Mean, XII, 2.
113. Doctrine of the Mean, Chap. 20, 5.

itself in moral standards and efforts. They are used to hard toil. Hard as their struggle with the environment has been they have never given it up. They are taking up a new struggle to fit themselves into a changing world with the same grim determination that has kept them going heretofore. They will win out, too!

The Chinese prize self-mastery.[114] Ethical love (仁) is summed up in self-mastery and doing right.[115] 1925 was a year in which the pent-up Yellow River of nationalistic emotions burst its banks. The Chinese saw their fellow-countrymen shot down under what they deemed unnecessary and unequal conditions. The fewness of the sporadic efforts to retaliate enhance the fact of their national self-control. They might have worked general havoc. They did not. In general they sought for justice with restraint. When one tries to visualize what might have happened in some Western countries under a like strained situation one wonders that the Chinese held themselves in. They showed that they are masters of themselves even if this self-mastery is not yet embodied in a *working* national machine.

The coward is not popular in China. Courage is a valuable asset. He who avoids doing what he knows to be right is a coward.[116] This virtue the West weighs most often in a military scale. The word of a militarist may therefore be quoted to show that Chinese practice correlates with their standard in this regard. While travelling home on furlough I met a general of the United States military forces in the Philippines. He told me that the head of the military forces of the United States Government had stated in a speech at West Point that taken man for man the Chinese were the equals in soldierly courage of any other people. This is in the last analysis a matter of moral rather than physical strength. It is, therefore, one aspect of moral equality. When they have convictions they can also stand up for them. It is significant that China, though practically unarmed as regards ability to back up national demands by military gestures, has not lacked the courage to stand up for her rights. In thus standing up for their national rights the Chinese must have known that, in the last analysis, they could not enforce them. Death seems to daunt them even less than it does the average Westerner.

Prominent in Chinese thought is the idea of sincerity. Two words are usually thus translated 誠 信 : the latter may also mean faithfulness, sticking to one's word, reliability. Are the Chinese reliable? In the keeping of contracts, when understood, and living up to a definite promise I have experienced little difference between the Chinese and the average Westerner. Often it is assumed that they have ac-

114. See page 21.
115. Analects XII, I, 1.
116. Analects II, XXIV, 2.

cepted an obligation when they do not so understand it. Failure to live up to such a presumably accepted obligation has often laid them open to the charge of unreliability. Many such experiences on the part of foreigners in China are due to faulty understandings, not to any essential unreliability in the Chinese character.

Two other practical virtues are connected with the above, honesty and veracity. As to the Chinese standards and practice in these regards, one hears all kinds of tales varying with the degree of disillusionment obtaining in each particular case. I wish to give my experience and impressions. It is an experience of a quarter of a century with all kinds and classes of Chinese.

First, as to the honesty of the Chinese. The Chinese standards of honesty are clear. These have already been given.[117] These are further emphasized by the Buddhist prohibition against stealing. It is true that public peculation is especially rife in China just now. This, however, does not differ in kind from what the West has suffered from and still knows: it does, however, differ in extent. Chinese militarists are adepts at collecting all kinds of irregular and often unjust taxes. In China as in the West an enormous proportion of the public revenue goes for militaristic purposes. In the modern West, however, this is secured in regular ways. I do not like to see so much public revenue so used in either case, though I prefer the regular ways of collecting it to the twisted ways through which many Chinese militarists get theirs. But I am inclined to agree with those Chinese who think that the principal difference as regards actual public honesty is in the degree of the effectiveness of the public "checking" system.[118] To all such irregularities the Chinese in my experience, object as strenuously as Westerners.

As to thieving it does not stand out in my experience as especially dominant in China. I am accustomed to seeing huge amounts of silver bullion carted around by dirty coolies. Numerous stories come to me of the use of simple coolies or servants as transportees of funds for missionary work in the interior. Chinese servants in general have a reputation for honesty in spite of their low economic status. When over against this I recall the armored cars used to transport money around big cities in the United States, and the talk of "crime waves," I find little evidence that honesty and dependability are at any *special* discount in China. The commissions taken or accepted by servants and any others who can get them (usually called "squeezes") are troublesome but seem to have a vital connection with the heavy economic pressure under which they live. It is easy for one living on $500

117. See page 44.

118. Young Men's Christian Association and the Future of China, National Committee, Y. M. C. A., page 6.

Mexican or more per mensem to be complacently indifferent to the supplementation of his income in irregular ways and to criticize those not so indifferent who must perforce eke out a precarious living on one-tenth or less that amount. Such criticism is after all an indirect recognition of the moral equality of the Chinese, for they are expected to be equally as honest as those who have much more to be honest on, and have therefore an easier task. Indeed they are really expected to show greater moral stamina than their critics. If petty thieving is more prevalent in China than in the West, this is due to the pressure of poverty as elsewhere.

What, also, of veracity? The Chinese are a "thoroughly mendacious people." Thus does one prominent journalist express himself.[119] My experience does not support that slanderous generalization. "Sincerity," which includes what one says as well as what one does, involves truthfulness. In speech the Princely Man stands for exactness.[120] Mencius apparently thinks the "great man" will do and say what is right naturally and without compulsion.[121] The popular canon of the Buddhists prohibits lying. K'ang Hsi's twelfth apothegm warns against "false accusation," the predominant idea in the ninth commandment of the decalogue.[122] "In speech, sincerity is first. Avoid lies and idle talk."[123] The bad man is, among other things, a liar, according to the "Tenets of Taoism."[124] Thus the sage and the man on the street approve truth telling, though reference thereto does not seem to be prominent in popular proverbs. There is, however, a familiar quatrain which calls on people to speak good words, do good deeds, read good books and maintain a good heart.[125] In all this the standard of veracity is clearly set forth. Lying, however, is not even for Buddhists who definitely prohibit it, the worst sin. For angry words to and rebellion against parents, infanticide and publishing an obscene book, the Book of Rewards and Punishments awards 1000 demerits: for a lie only fifty. Furthermore, the lie of exigency is more openly recognized in China than in the West. Confucius and Mencius both used the lie of social amenity, Mencius being criticised therefor on the basis of violating the obligations of propriety. Confucius promised the rebels who had captured him not to proceed to Wei in order to secure his release from them. He broke his word on the basis that a forced oath is not binding. This is an application of the principle that a bad man does not deserve the truth. What the Chinese thus openly include in their principles Westerners to

119. What's Wrong With China, Rodney Gilbert, page 180.
120. Analects, XIII, III, V, 7.
121. Mencius, Book IV, Part II, XI.
122. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, page 134.
123. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, page 228.
124. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, page 248.
125. 要說好話,要作好事,要讀好書,要存好心.

some extent assume that they exclude. In practice, however, the lie of exigency has its place in the West. I have often talked with Western Christians about this lie of exigency and found their opinion thereon by no means uniform nor always certain. Consideration for another's feelings, one application of the law of Jen, might also permit departure from verbal accuracy. This a prominent and mature Chinese Christian once admitted to me. But does this frank inclusion of the lie of exigency in China as over against its submerged use in the West result in the Chinese being more mendacious? My experience does not lead me to such a conclusion. Where they understand one another the Chinese trust one another. Public men in China are, it is true, credited with a high degree of mendacity. In ordinary life, however, I do not feel that mendacity is a more acute problem than I found it to be in the West in early years among various and numerous classes of people. Were the Chinese as mendacious as the quotation at the head of this paragraph assumes they could not hold together at all. Suspicion of everybody would be the rule. On the contrary, the Chinese are inclined to rather easy credulity.

The standards, then, of honesty in deed and word are well-known and accepted by the Chinese. Such variations as exist in practice with regard to (1) public graft are due as elsewhere to weak coordination of public opinion, and (2) petty crimes, to the heavy economic pressure as found in connection with poverty everywhere. There is no justification for speaking of the Chinese as specially mendacious or dishonest. Considering the terrible struggle to make ends meet one wonders that they are as honest as they are.

In sexual morality both Chinese standards and practice rank well. E. H. Parker says the Chinese are "undoubtedly a libidinous people" but concludes by saying that they "are not much, if any, worse than Europeans."[126] Some missionaries I have talked with, however, find it difficult to believe that the Chinese do not differ much in this regard from their own people. My experience based on considerable direct study of the problem leads me to feel that Chinese sexual morality (family laws apart) accords well with their own standards and with both standards and practice in the West.

In Buddhistic and Taoistic literature immorality is often spoken of as the chief sin. Chinese classical literature is remarkably free from anything erotic. Confucius banished the licentious songs of Chang[127] as found in the Book of Odes.[128] Phallicism is almost absent from China except in one or two somewhat obscure cases and in connection with Tibetan Lamaism. Realistic novels do exist. But obscene

126. China, E. H. Parker, pages 284 and 286.
127. Analects, XV, X, 6.
128. Part I, Book VII.

literature has always been banned. The worst book of this kind I have seen in China was a foreign production in a foreign shop. One of the Buddhist commandments prohibits adultery. In the customary-statute law of Phenix Village, South China, sex offenses are given priority over theft and put next to murder.[129] In the "Ten Crimes" of Chinese law they are, however, put last and limited to "illegitimate sexuality with a family superior."[130] There have been decrees against adultery from ancient times. The men China honors have clean records in this regard.

China, then, lays emphasis on sexual purity and the regularity of sexual relationships. Nevertheless prostitution exists in China. Is it more or less prevalent than in the West? To this no conclusive answer is possible. A few facts and impressions that point towards its being about the same may be cited. Little statistical information is available in China: statistical information on this problem is inconclusive anywhere. Personal study added to information on conditions in a few leading Chinese cities gives ground for inferring that commercialized vice is not more prevalent in China than in the West. It is probably less so in the country districts, though there are particularly bad centres both urban and rural. The highest figure ever quoted to me, as indicating the prevalence of immorality in rural districts, was ten percent. A study of twelve rural centres in four provinces corroborated this statement, which was, as a matter of fact, only an estimate. To speak of ten percent of the people as immoral while bad is far from being extreme as similar statistics go in the West. Compared with figures for some countries in the West it is low. It is probably too low for China. Even so there is no evidence to show that commercialized vice is more prevalent in China than in the West. The incidence of venereal diseases is sometimes taken as an index of the prevalence of sexual immorality. Of this problem only a very few studies have so far been made in China.[131] These studies do not indicate that the percentage of Chinese having these diseases (most of them were hospital patients, anyhow) is particularly high: the incidence of these diseases among students and farmers tends to be lower than among those in other occupations. An inquiry some years ago among the leading Christian colleges revealed the fact that the number of matriculates having quiescent or active symptoms of these diseases, or falling into immorality while in college, was only about one percent of the student body: in more than one institution the problem was absent. And some years ago, in reply to a question sent out by me, it was stated by seventy-seven percent of those replying that commercialized vice had little or nothing to do with students. This bears out my impression that students and scholars as a class attempt to live

129. Country Life in South China, Kulp, page 319: Also appendix II.
130. The Government of Chleh, Hsieh, page 218. Also appendix II.
131. China Medical Journal, 1921, pages 36-42.

up to their own principles in this regard. This impression is further strengthened by a recent statement made by Mr. T. Z. Koo, a secretary of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A., that the current mental and religious break-down of Chinese students has not been accompanied by any increase in immorality.[132] This encouraging fact he attributes to China's ancient moral ideals and training. There are many distressing features connected with commercialized vice in China, the chief probably being that its source of supply is girls sold in infancy or early youth. I have had to study the problem somewhat closely.[133] For sheer moral depravity I have never found anything in China that equals the conditions described in the Report of the Chicago Vice Commission (1910). Taken all in all the "social vice" does not seem to be more deeply or firmly rooted or more flourishing in China than in the West, though there are grounds for thinking that commercialized vice in "port" cities has increased in recent years: this is not, however, exclusively a matter of Chinese promotion or patronage; Westerners have their share in it.

China is not infrequently spoken of as "drug-ridden." But China cannot fairly be dubbed "drug-ridden" any more than the United States could have been or might still be dubbed "alcohol-ridden." In making this statement I do not intend to minimize the fell nature of drug addiction of any kind in any country. As to alcohol China has indulged therein in spite of the prohibitions of both Buddhism and Mohammedanism. Drunkenness has, however, usually been deplored. In the 12th Century B.C. there was an Edict against it. Drunkenness, furthermore, is generally conceded not to be a Chinese vice. Liquor drinking has been mainly, though by no means exclusively, ceremonial. The social cup is the teacup. The use and effects of opium, however, have been much more evident. And yet China has never been drugged as a nation. In 1917 China practically suppressed the opium traffic. This nation-wide moral achievement seemed to take less effort than it took to make prohibition a national law in the United States. Why? It was not only the result of a nationalistic resentment against a foreign imported article. It was a manifestation of China's moral attitude against the drug. It was a moral punch with moral biceps to match. Chinese and foreign cupidity did, it is true, in 1858 cooperate to legalize the traffic. And yet in 1727 and again in 1800 severe edicts indicated public protest against the traffic: twice the Chinese government destroyed valuable consignments of the drug. In 1923 the Chinese Government declined to relegalize the traffic and in 1924 the Chinese withrew from the Geneva Opium Conferences because they could not secure a sufficiently drastic policy of suppression. The recrudescence of the

132. Young Men's Christian Association and the Future of China, page 20.

133. The author was a member of the Vice Commission appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council in 1919.

opium evil within China has been helped on by huge amounts of drugs smuggled in from outside and the mad indifference of militarists to everything but their own power and profit. Smuggling in China (not all carried on by Chinese) and bootlegging in the United States seem about equally virulent and prevalent.

But looked at statistically, what has been the hold of opium-addiction upon China? The facts to be mentioned support the constantly recurring public protest against the traffic as proving that opium has had no more hold, if as much, upon China than alcohol upon several countries in the West. In the West, in sizing up the hold of drug addiction upon a people, we take the percentage of users of the entire population as the index. In dubbing China "drug-ridden" this index seems often to be overlooked. After most careful searching the facts as to the per capita hold of opium-addiction upon the Chinese are as follows: the figures given include an estimate as to the amount of opium produced within China in addition to that imported. In 1854 an estimate of the percentage of Chinese using opium was under 2%;[134] in 1881 the Custom's report made it 4%: in 1909 Mr. T'ang, the Chinese Commissioner to the International Opium Commission, reported 3.5%: in 1890, however, the missionaries reported it as "only two-thirds of one percent of the population."[135] As to per capita expenditure for opium it was in 1854 apparently about fifteen cents Mexican per annum:[136] in 1881 the Custom's Report figured thirty-one cents per capita and in 1909 the International Opium Commission reported about thirty-seven cents per capita per annum. The 1890 Missionary Conference estimates a per capita expenditure of much less than any of the above. In 1922 it was estimated that the per capita cost to China, including every conceivable financial loss connected therewith, was about Tls. 2.15 per annum.[137] These figures are, even the highest, comparatively small. They indicate that opium has never had more than a relatively weak hold upon China as a nation. Intensively the opium traffic is an unmitigated evil: but relative to China's population it does not loom up as particularly prominent. The general impression is that while there is a growing recrudescence of the traffic it has not yet reached the prevalence obtaining in its former worst period. This relatively weak grip of the opium evil upon China accords with the recurring public protest against it. This explains, also, how it was that in 1924, in spite of China's political incoherence and widespread chaos, it was possible in a comparatively short time to get 4,265 organizations, representing 4,663,979 people, to sign a strong protest against opium and forward

134. Newcomb's Cyclopedia of Missions.
135. Missionary Conference, 1890, page 336.
136. Newcomb's Cyclopedia of Missions.
137. The Weekly Review, March 11, 1922, page 42.

same to Geneva. Were China as coordinated nationally as the United States the question of opium, judging by past experiences, would be comparatively easy of solution. The militarist nurses of the opium traffic and the smugglers (Chinese or foreign) do not represent China's moral ideals and desires any more than bootleggers and bribe-takers stand for the real moral ideals of the United States.

One further question may be briefly dealt with. Is life less safe under ordinary conditions in China than in the West? Many assume that it is. This implies that the Chinese are especially homicidal. Is this true? According to my experience backed up by remarks made by many others, it is not. Of course, under the strained conditions now existing in China as a result of the activities of uncontrolled militarist leaders and bandits, life does become more precarious for those who get in their way. China's unleashed militarism is one of those mad moments that come to many nations: China's banditry is one of those moments of economic pressure and distraction many peoples pass through. But one cannot, on the basis of this madness or distraction, argue that the Chinese are naturally more homicidal than any other peoples, any more than one can reason from Chinese massacres in the United States (some of which were proportionately as significant as the Boxer massacre) that Americans are more homicidal than other whites. Special reference, by way of comparison, may be made to the United States in this connection. Unlike China the United States is not at present passing through a moment of political madness or economic distraction: even the effects of the great war have to some extent lessened. Yet crime of all kinds, including "civilized" banditry, is prevalent. Whether this crime is, in general, increasing in proportion to the population, seems to be an unsettled question. There seems to be little question, however, that homicide in the United States is increasing relative to the growth in population.[138] Shall we reason from these facts that Americans are more homicidal than other people? We have not yet done so. Thus, moments and movements of political madness and economic distraction apart, life seems as safe in China as elsewhere. The Chinese people are, for the nonce, helpless with regards to some situations which threaten life in China. But they are not intentionally or particularly homicidal. It is true that they often seem to neglect the stranger in dire need. Members of a family group, however, do not suffer from such neglect. But Chinese society is not organized to care for the stranger who falls by the way. Even in the West social organization to care for such cases is comparatively recent. Buddhism prohibits the destruction of life. The murderer has usually had short shrift when caught. Helping to save life is, as a matter of fact, one popular way of storing up merit;

138. Sociology and Modern Social Problems, Ellwood, page 315: Various articles in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1926.

saving *human* life ranks high in this scheme of gaining merit.[139] To this may be added the inclusion of homicide as a crime in two "decalogues" the first of which is local and the second national. Prohibitions and punishments of homicide have always been stringent. All the above is connected with the high estimate the Chinese put on personality which involves consideration for the physical life also. Taking into consideration all these facts the Chinese cannot justly be deemed especially homicidal. The excess mortality rate prevailing in China is not a matter of homicidal intent but of undeveloped social organization.*

In the West it is commonly assumed that a person is innocent until he is proved guilty. The responsibility for proving guilt in any particular case is on the accuser. In my experience many people who come to China do so armed with the contrary assumption. This weapon slips easily out of its scabbard. It is thus easy to look on the Chinese as below their own people in moral standards and conduct. Correcting this inverted attitude is one of their first tasks. This is usually far from easy. Furthermore the burden of proof is in this case on the accused not the accuser. They assume that the Chinese are guilty until they prove their innocence. Not all Westerners coming to China hold this inverted principle. But all too many do. It is part of the superiority complex.

Furthermore in my experience I have found that many Westerners who come to China paint with a deeper hue those aspects of human life that at home are colored much more lightly. Thus social amenities, exaggerations, half-truths and diatribes as indulged in by political propagandists everywhere are taken in China as indicating a lower level of moral turpitude than is inferred under similar conditions in the West. Public peculation in China seems to be more base than public graft in the West. Yet graft and squeezing are exactly the same viewed morally. This attitude shows itself in some Western Christians in a subtle doubt that left alone the Chinese will not or cannot respond as freely or fully to ethical ideals as their own nationals.

These attitudes are, like certain bacteria, extremely difficult to detect. I think enough has been said above to show that they are built on flimsy foundations. Moral conduct is the basis of Chinese society. China's divergence therefrom, be it more or less, does not detract from the meaning of that fact. Chinese standards of moral conduct differ little—I think none—from those we know in the West. And keeping in mind the difference in the structure of the family, the moral efforts of the Chinese correlate with their standards in about the same degree as is found in general in the West. It is in these moral standards and moral effort that the quality of Chinese civilization consists. These standards

139. Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb, Plopper, page 247, footnote.
* See Appendix II.

and efforts indicate not only a due appreciation of human moral worth but a desire to conserve it. It is in this human moral worth and efforts to conserve it that Christianity finds the basis of human equality. From this viewpoint the Chinese may justly be looked on as the equals of Westerners. Christianity will not be naturalized in China until the Christian ideal of human equality is embodied in attitudes and conditions of Christian work in such ways that the actual as well as the potential moral equality of the Chinese is so unmistakably recognized that the Chinese have no doubt about the genuineness of the recognition.

SECTION III. SOMETHING OF CHINA'S SPIRITUAL INHERITANCE.

Chapter 7. The Ethical Universe.

Chapter 8. The Golden Rule.

Chapter 9. The Supreme Being.

CHAPTER VII.

The Ethical Universe

WESTERN and Chinese minds are in process of being irrigated by each other's culture. But this is only in its beginning. There are two ways of furthering this osmotic cultural irrigation. One is for the Chinese themselves to outline the contents and meaning of their own culture and civilization. This can be done by Chinese translations in other than their own tongues of their own literature and philosophies. To this can be added Chinese interpretations of their own civilization and culture. The second way of interpreting China to the West is for Westerners who have sojourned in China long enough to understand somewhat the Chinese mind and life to give their understanding of some of the worthwhile aspects of Chinese thought, aspirations and life.

What I have said or may yet say comes under the second of these ways of cultural irrigation. Like many other Western Christians I came to China with little realization that China has a rich spiritual inheritance of her own. My task, therefore, as then conceived was to pass on what the West knew and China's privilege was to scrap her own ideas and accept those of the West. This program was very naïve and biased. But I have learned better.

In venturing to give my understanding of some aspects of China's spiritual inheritance I propose to open up some of those which seem to be prevalent and which have special significance for Christians, and a special bearing upon the problem of naturalizing Christianity in China.

Three such aspects of the spiritual inheritance of China stand out in my mind. These have to do with the fundamental nature or basis of the universe, the supreme standard of human conduct and The Supreme Being. With each of these I propose to deal in turn.

With Chinese art in its varied forms I need not deal. Chinese art does not want for interpreters. Westerners seem less chary of comparing China's art values and achievements with their own than they are of comparing the social and religious values of the two civilizations. This is due in part to the fact that aesthetics are more popular than religious and social values, and in part to the fact that the self-consciousness of Westerners as to their achievements in art is weaker than in regard to that of their social and religious institutions. Westerners do, however, often give the impression of claiming a high degree of originality in religious and ethical values. This, when actually believed, can only arise in a weak historical consciousness. For the religious thought of most of the Westerners who come to China, together with most of their ethics, came originally out of the East. Indeed the only outstanding original trait of modern Western civilization would seem to be its exploitation of

natural energy. And so engrossed have Westerners become in this fascinating and profitable adventure that they tend to submerge their religious values in a muddied ethics.

My purpose is to tap, to some extent, the experience of the Chinese. Insofar as the prevalent aspects of the spiritual inheritance of the Chinese have their roots in the teachings of the best known and earliest of China's thinkers, the Chinese religious and cultural inheritance shows a higher degree of originality than that of their Western contemporaries. For they did their thinking prior to the brilliant Greek age in which Aristotle, Plato and Pericles did theirs, from which age comes no inconsiderable portion of the stimulating ideas of the modern West. In any event originality in deep thinking is far from being an exclusive Western characteristic. The realization of that fact should make it easy for Westerners to play student as well as teacher in China.

What I desire to do is to draw special attention to some of the higher ideals of the Chinese. Here Chinese and Western life can be viewed together on their higher levels. This is much more fruitful in promoting mutual respect than comparing how low each has fallen when forgetting its ideals, an indulgence I have already permitted myself to some extent. Suffice it to say, by way of summarizing what has been said heretofore, that I have found no social vices in China which I have not found with slight variations in external trappings in the "Christian" West. Neither civilization can show originality in meanness: for obvious reasons neither tries to do so.

In this chapter I wish to give what I understand to be the prevailing Chinese idea of the fundamental entity back of all phenomena of which men are conscious. This can be briefly outlined under the title, "The Ethical Universe."

I feel much like one peering through delicately latticed screens, from which a friendly hand has brushed the dust and cobwebs, at the glistening minarets crowning a temple of idealism. A rare atmosphere of thought makes this temple stand out with startling clearness. This is none the less true because human frailty has allowed the dust and cobwebs of superstition and ignorance to obscure the temple to a large extent. One can imagine the Taj Mahal, that perfect symbol of undying affection, likewise hidden behind cobwebs and dust. To clear away this accumulated dust and cobwebs would be to reveal again the immortal aspiration and achievement of its designer and builder. In its sheer beauty a great soul flowered. Such flowers do not wilt away even when hidden by dust and cobwebs. Likewise the greatness of the Chinese soul gleams through their ideas of the universe and man's place in it. Knowing something of the painful toil modern thinkers are fain to engage in ere they dare venture an hypothesis as to the basic reality of their universe, one wonders all the more at some of the rare intuitive ventures of thought made by

Chinese seers who worked with simple tools and knew naught of statistical studies and little of the concentration of the modern precisionist.

I begin with Lao Tzu, who, in the eventide of his life, so legend avers, vanished like Moses in the hills. I take him first even though the Tao Teh King, which is attributed to him, is not included among the classical literature of China. His central theme, however, that of the Tao, is woven into all Chinese thought. Evidently the translators of the Gospel of John thought its resemblance to the idea of the Logos sufficiently close to warrant its use in translation of that Christianized Greek term. The concept of Tao seems to be a double one. Sometimes it is the unoriginated entity back of all the human mind has experienced. This seems to be in the main the concept used by Lao Tzu, though whether he is speaking in terms of substance or being is not clear. Again it is sometimes thought of as the mode of expression of the ultimate entity. These two conceptions often run into each other. The term Tao, like Logos, sometimes refers to the principle of reason back of or the way or mode of self-manifestation of the fundamental entity back of all things. As used in the Gospel of John and by many Chinese writers it is identified with this fundamental entity. Both the idea of the Logos as identified with the supreme entity and that of its being a manifestation thereof are found in Greek thought. The Stoics identified it with the cosmic ruler. With this idea Plato sometimes agrees. Philo thought of it as a manifestation of God. But in neither case was it clearly conceived of as personal. This is the step forward that John took. He identified the Logos with the personal Supreme Being. The doctrine of the Logos was the "natural meeting point of old Christianity with the best elements in the old religions"[140] Lao Tzu seems to think of Tao as antecedent to God (帝).[141] But other Chinese writers identify the two. Lao Tzu does not, moreover, give more than a vague hint of a personal God.

Man's relation to this self-contained entity or Tao (it has other names at times) follows two main lines in Chinese thought. First, there is the Taoistic emphasis on the direct intuitional relationship of man with the Tao. This seems to correspond with that idea of the direct relationship of the soul with God as emphasized by some Christians. In both cases the human factor intuitively submits to the supreme entity: to let it work through one's being is the guiding principle of experience. The danger in both cases is the same, quiescent fatalism. Many Taoists and a greater proportion of Christians escape this danger. The second medium through which this relation to the Tao develops is that of the orthodox Confucianist. This is the way of rites, ceremonies and limited social bonds. The danger of this latter is legalism, or reliance on rites and ceremonies as such, a danger against which Christ persistently fought

140. Dictionary of the Bible, Hastings, Vol. III, page 135 b.
141. Tao Teh King, Chapter 4, III.

but in which Christians have nevertheless been often entangled. This is the deadening influence in Confucianism as in Christianity when it appears.

The concept of the Tao goes back behind both Taoism and Confucianism so-called. Both systems developed an idea whose origin is lost in the mists of Chinese antiquity. Some sinologues have suggested an extra-Chinese source, but this is only an interesting speculation The age and origin of Tao and other Chinese concepts, however, is not as significant for my purpose as their prevalent meaning.

Whether or not Lao Tzu really wrote the Tao Teh King is a debated question. It is, however, usually credited to him and certainly contains the results of an original attempt to interpret man's experience of his universe. Its general line of thought seems to be primary in Chinese thinking. Certainly the Tao Teh King, while it never came into such constant and persistent use as a text-book as the Confucian Classics, seems to give us the leading ideas of the time of Lao Tzu and that were accepted in large part by many later Chinese writers.[142] Other and later Chinese writers, did not, however, confine themselves to the extremely speculative atmosphere which motivated the Tao Teh King.

What, then, is one prominent Chinese idea of the fundamental entity back of all phenomena? What seems to be a primary and more or less constant assumption as to the nature of that entity? In reply to these questions I wish to give my idea of what Lao Tzu and those who shared his ideas were trying to suggest. Lao Tzu is trying to say that back of all phenomena is an unoriginated entity. Wang Yang Ming, nearly twenty centuries later, appears to take this same viewpoint for he refers to one monistic entity (in the main mind) which reveals itself or is known in various ways as Heaven, Shangti, fate, disposition and mind. This is a monistic conception which goes back of all human attempts to define or describe it.[143]

This primary entity according to the Tao Teh King was marked by incomprehensibility. It begins by being super-phenomenal and super-personal. It could not, therefore, be expressed finally or fully in the ordinary terms of human experience. What was, however, its chief characteristic? Was it simply speculative indefiniteness? Was it only a supreme unknowable? Was its activity mainly material? Was power, in the sense of physical energy, an aspect of God not absent from Christian creeds, its chief attribute? It seems that for Lao Tzu its chief characteristic was found in none of these, though all of them are hinted at. Mulling over the Tao Teh King one becomes aware that this fundamental entity is above all *ethically active*. It is also a self-sustaining and all-sustaining unity. The concept of the Tao suggests the oneness back of

142. The time of Lao Tzu is sometimes given as 604-517 B.C.
143. Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming, Henke, page 83.

the universe rather than its manifoldness. It was on this characteristic of ethical activity rather than on the incomprehensibility of the original entity back of the universe that Confucian and later Chinese thinkers tended to lay chief emphasis. Thus what they say becomes in general more practical and understandable.

One of the ways in which this characteristic ethical activity of the Tao was known to men is in that well-known dictum so often quoted, "To offset enmity or hate with virtue or goodness."[144] Other sayings of this original treatise also indicate that this fundamental entity or Tao is recognized as moving in the direction of what we call goodness or right, even though this ultimate goodness is left undefined. An absolute norm of goodness, however, seems to be in the mind of the one speaking. This fundamental ethical activity suggests an ethical magnetic pole that though only vaguely located is still followed by the compass of life. The centre or heart of the universe, of which man is a part, is fundamentally ethical. This, I think, is the prevailing idea even though some Chinese thinkers like Kau Tzu, a contemporary and opponent of Mencius, and Chu Hsi, the leading philosopher of the great Sung school of the eleventh century, do not settle the problem of evil any more convincingly than Christian writers.

This underlying ethical activity might, it seems to me, be described as a universal urge, almost an élan ethical. This still remains the fundamental characteristic of man's environment for the mass of the Chinese in so far as they think about such matters at all. Modern Chinese sages are puzzled as to whether metaphysics, economics or science should be the basis of life. Within the last few years a book of lectures giving their diverse views thereon was published and received with great interest. Lao Tzu seems to think of this fundamental ethical moving as basic in human life as well as in the universe. It is certainly not economic though it is subject to both the metaphysical and scientific approaches. The Christian is nearer to this fundamental idea of Lao Tzu than to the uncertainty of modern Chinese sages. This is one reason why Christians should have an interest therein.

An exact translation of the term "Tao" in one word seems impossible. But that among other ideas it suggests an ethical moving in and through the universe seems clear. Two striking passages in the Tao Teh King show that the writer had some conception of this ethical urge or necessary mode of ultimate activity. "To those who are good, I am good: to those who are not good I am also (still) good. To those who are sincere (or faithful) I am sincere (or faithful): to those who are not sincere (or not faithful) I am also (still) sincere (or faithful)."[145] At the end of each couplet as given above are two

144. Tao Teh King, Chapter 63.
145. Tao Teh King, Chapter 49: The Canon of Reason and Virtue, Carus, page 50: Sacred Books of the East, Max Muller, Volume XXXIX, page 81, 91.

characters (德善：德信), which are here translated separately for special emphasis, "Virtue (is) good. Virtue (is) sincere or faithful." The basic idea seems to be that virtue is the expression of the Tao in man. That it was so conceived sometimes is made clear by Han Fei (died B.C. 230) who said that the "virtue," evidently looked on as a mode of activity, and which is spoken of in the above quotation, "is the meritorous work of the Tao." When the Tao as thus viewed expresses itself in and through a person that person will exhibit virtue (the proper or right direction of action) whether the other party to a situation acts in a good or bad way. Human action, if an expression of the Tao, will be *good* in both cases. Thus the underlying source of all things acts in a definitely good direction. This is because it is by nature good. And in so far as this underlying ethical entity is conceived of as operating in men it may to that extent be looked on as a dynamic, if by dynamic is understood something stimulating or involving action. We may fairly conclude, then, that according to this line of thought the universe has at its heart a definite ethical bent.

We may find additional support outside of Taoism for the idea that there is at the heart of the universe a definite ethical bent in the meaning of Ch'eng (誠), for which "sincerity" is the usual definition. This term is used twenty-four times in the Doctrine of the Mean. In that Confucian classic it is considered to be a necessary characteristic of both man and Heaven, a part of their essential nature. But what is Ch'eng? According to its use in the various passages in the Doctrine of the Mean it does not seem to be identical with reality or the fundamental "nature" or entity as Legge says.[146] It is spoken of as the Tao (道), way or mode, of both man and Heaven. Tao as well as Ch'eng seem to be, in this connection at least, primarily a mode of activity, which in the case of Heaven *is*, but in the case of man is *becoming*.[147] Ch'eng then, is a mode of the activity of the Tao, when conceived as the primary entity. Now in order to attain to "Ch'eng," this necessary mode of activity, man must have an understanding of goodness (善). This goodness seems to be the determining standard of the mode of activity involved. To be Ch'eng, therefore, man's activity must be in accord with this essential goodness, which likewise belongs to the essential nature of both man and Heaven. Though this "goodness" is not clearly defined, its chief characteristic, as we shall see later, is love, also a mode of expression. In all this there is again suggested an ethical bent in the universe which man must take into account and with which he must be in accord. To be "sincere" is to act in accord with this fundamental ethical bent at the heart of the universe. To know that you are doing this is, according

146. Note, Doctrine of the Mean, Legge, Commercial Press edition, page 279.
147. Doctrine of the Mean, Commercial Press edition, page 277.

to Mencius, to achieve the greatest happiness.[148] Furthermore this "sincerity" is the essential characteristic of the only influence worth while, moral influence.[149] Here is no complacent quietism. When put into practice, as it is expected to be, it calls for moral assertion of the highest order. In this emphasis Mencius and the writer of the "Doctrine of the Mean" seem to be in accord. It is the source of that Chinese idea of the obligation of staunch adherence to the right already mentioned.[150] It points back to a law of right as fundamental in the scheme of things rather than to a law of expediency. Confucius did not, it is true, adhere closely to this fundamental law of rightness as here conceived when he broke his oath to the rebels with regard to his trip to Wei.[151] But that incident does not invalidate the significance of this ideal.

There is, however, one passage in the Tao Teh King which seems to imply doubt that at its heart the universe has any such ethical bent.[152] (天地不仁：聖人不仁) Here heaven and earth, the universe viewed as in operation, and the sage are said to be devoid of (仁) ethical love. The one looks on things (萬物) and the other on men (百姓) as "grass dogs", images probably used for sacrificial purposes. Liang Chi Chao contrasts this with the saying of Mo Tzu that Heaven is "indiscriminating love" (天兼愛).[153] Liang looks on these ideas as mutually exclusive, dropping into agnostic uncertainty as to which philosopher is right. With considerable diffidence I venture to suggest that this dilemma is not a necessary stopping place. In the first place Jen seems to be understood in this connection as conveying the idea of discrimination in the treatment of men: it involved partiality. Furthermore Lao Tzu when speaking of "heaven and earth" seems to have in mind the physical organism or phenomena of the universe. These operated in a way that showed no partiality in their treatment of men. The true Sage likewise would be impartial. Lao Tzu does not seem to identify the working of physical phenomena with the ultimate Tao. Indeed Taoism throughout seems to conceive of the nature of the Tao as higher than anything experienced through human senses. This higher something the true Sage would manifest. In the second place Jen was mixed up with family and ceremonial relationships. It did not therefore stand for that direct relationship between men and Tao which the Taoist emphasized. Such ceremonies and relationships were a concession to human weakness. Indeed it is said that ceremonials are the thin attenuations of loyality and faith.[154] Such thin attenuations do not

148. Works of Mencius, Book VII, Part I, Chapter III.
149. Works of Mencius, Book IV, Part I, Chapter XII, 1, 2, 3.
150. Pages 20-21.
151. Page 77.
152. Tao Teh King, Chapter 5.
153. A Critical Survey of Mo Tzu, Liang, page 48.
154. Tao Teh King, 38, 4.

permit of the full expression of this ethical bent. Once Lao Tzu suggests that when you have abandoned Tao you have Jen.[155] This certainly implies that Jen is something less than the highest manifestation of Tao. In Jen as then understood and practised this ethical bent was twisted out of its course. There is ground for this interpretation in the Tao Teh King itself.[156] (天道無親常與善人) For we are told that the heavenly way or reason (or heavenly Tao) does not display family or relational love (親) or partiality (but) constantly helps the good man. Jen had become confused with this relational love or a love partial to certain close relationships. Mo Tzu for this reason seems to have avoided its use.

Thus in its expression through heaven and earth and the sage this ethical bent should show itself in impartiality. In still other ways and by other writers this ethical bent at the heart of the universe is recognized. Tao is used, as has been said, to translate the word "Logos" as used by John. To some extent it suggests the working in the world of phenomena of an immeasurable mind with a definite ethical bent. "Nature" (性) and "T'ien" (天) are also used in this same way. "T'ien" is usually translated "Heaven." It might, I think, often be translated "ethical universe" if there is kept in mind this idea of the ethical urge or bent at its heart. In a general way "Tao" suggests the fundamental and original aspect of this ethical bent in the universe. "Nature" indicates this Tao as working through the environment and human beings. All these terms as well as others suggest something ethically alert at the basis of the universe.

In the Doctrine of the Mean, "sincerity" (Ch'eng), and in the Sung philosophers "love" (Jen) (for Jen does not always suggest relational partiality) are used as synonyms for each and all of these terms.[157] Two quotations widely separated in time will serve to illustrate this point. This "Doctrine of the Mean", a section of the Confucian canon, says, "Being sincere is the way of Heaven."[158] This might fairly be translated, "Being sincere or true is the Tao, fundamental mode of acting or fundamental ethical bent of the universe". The emphasis on this aspect of the concept is more clearly made by Chu Hsi, the principal interpreter of the Confucian classics. He quotes K'ang Chieh (A.D. 1011), one of his forerunners in the Sung School, with approval when he says, "Moral Law is the Supreme Ultimate", the T'ai Chih of the Confucian Cosmogony.[159] Chu Hsi says this refers to the "Tao" as "the self-existent law of the universe".

155. Tao Teh King, 18, 1.
156. Tao Teh King, Chapter 79:2.
157. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, pages 99, 100.
158. Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter XX, 18.
159. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 165.

With this idea of a fundamental unity or entity with its ethical bent are associated early and late the moral attributes love, righteousness, reverence, wisdom, and confidence or faith. "Chong" (衷 or 中) is another term frequently used by Chinese writers. It embodies the principle of impartiality. It is frequently translated "moral sense". We find these five cardinal virtues grouped together very early. From the Book of History (Shu Ching) we have this oft-quoted phrase, "The Great God has conferred a moral sense upon the people". This is attributed to the Duke of Chou. On or about 1100 B.C. Tsai Chen defined the term "chong", here translated "moral sense", as the underlying principle of love, righteousness, reverence, wisdom, and confidence or faith. This "underlying principle" or "moral sense" is the will or "decree" of T'ien, here identified with Shang Ti. These fundamental virtues are thus traced back to what can only be considered as a supreme ethical source. This "moral sense" seems to involve the idea of an ethical bent linking all things together.

A somewhat significant inference may now be drawn. It is not infrequently stated that the Chinese worship nature. Is that true? In the sense that the Chinese have consistently and continuously worshipped nature considered materially it does not seem to be true. In the sense that they have thought of nature as embodying this ethical bent it may be in a measure true. Whether or not some have worshipped nature as thus viewed and in the pantheistic sense is uncertain. The idea of a universe with an ethical bent at its heart, which seems to have been the Chinese idea, is not pure pantheism. It is fairly certain that the Chinese have not in general been pantheists as we understand that term. This ethical something to which we have referred seems to be transcendent in a way that precludes pantheism as the prevailing idea in Chinese philosophy. Perhaps *some of* the earlier Chinese thinkers were nearer a pantheistic conception than the later ones. But there is something operating in the universe that is not completely identified with it. It is a directive influence. It is not just the resultant of its converging forces. Even Chuang Tzu, great expositor of Taoism as he was, seems to have had this in mind,[160] when he speaks of a "True Lord" (**眞宰**) whose person and form is beyond human ken. (**若有眞宰而不特不知其朕可行已信而不見其形**). The Chinese do not generally think of nature except in some way that suggests its ethical basis and bent. The fundamental concept is one of ethical unity and direction. The ultimate source of things is ethically good. The contrary Buddhistic idea that things are unreal and hence fundamentally evil has never displaced this Chinese idea that they are fundamentally real and good.

160. Nan Hwa King, II, 2.

Another step in this attempt to set forth briefly the leading ideals of the Chinese is now possible. This underlying entity whose chief characteristic is ethical is also affirmative and positive. It is more than a quiescent incomprehensible something. To show something of the later appreciation of this idea we may quote Chu Hsi who says, "It is the principle of inherent right present in all phenomena."[161] This is also intimated by Lao Tzu. Chu Hsi is also quoted as saying, "the manifestation of the Tao is called Wen, i.e., religion, music and law."[162] This underlying something is thought of as an upswelling or manifestation in and through nature and the life of man. This is not only a later or comparatively modern idea. For Mencius says, "love, righteousness, reverence, and wisdom (four of the five cardinal virtues) are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them."[163] Again he says "He who exhausts his "sing" (mentality) knows his nature. Knowing his own nature he knows Heaven."[164] And Suziki says that Chuang Tzu, an enthusastic glorifier of Lao Tzu, "seems to think the Tao is present in every man."[165] Being sincere is the ethical bent of nature, so becoming sincere is the Tao or ethical mode of man.[166] The difference between T'ien, Heaven, as viewed ethically, and man is that while T'ien seems to be spoken of as "being" Tao, man is spoken of as "becoming" or attaining Tao.

This manifestation of the underlying something attains its highest form in love, which is at the same time the dominating principle in man's nature, and as we shall see in the next chapter the norm of human relationships. Man and the universe as manifesting this underlying unity are thought of in terms of love as their common and highest characteristic.

Two terms are most commonly used for love: Jen (仁) and Ai (愛). Jen is most frequently used, particularly in the classics. Jen seems to be the primary concept. Ai is, however, frequently used in the classics and not infrequently as a definition of Jen. Confucius so uses it.[167] I would designate Jen as ethical love as over against a love based on close physical or family relationships, though Jen has, as we have seen, been at times mixed up with this. Ai is more like emotional affection or love based on a personal interest. If you love a person ethically you love him according to a value and purpose common to both. If you love him affectionately there is a personal element involved. As a matter of fact sometimes in the classics, and particularly in Chu Hsi, affectionate love (Ai) is thought of as a definition for ethical love (Jen) though there seems to be a distinction between the love principle as basic entity and

161. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 164.
162. Analects, Soothill, Chapter IX, V, page 422.
163. Works of Mencius, Book VI, Chapter I.
164. Works of Mencius, Book VII, Chapter VI, 7.
165. History of Chinese Philosophy, Suziki, page 37.
166. Doctrine of Mean, Chapter VI, 18.
167. Analects, Book XII, Chapter XXII, II.

the love-feeling in operation.[168] Chu Hsi thinks that in earlier times Jen was construed mainly in terms of affection. Later the emphasis went to the other extreme, and love tended to be an unemotionless or impersonal attitude. To quote Bruce's estimate of Chu Hsi's idea, "True love is the emotion love based upon an ethical foundation." But let this great expositor of Confucianism speak for himself. "Love is a principle in itself, and altruism is the work of self-mastery arrived at its goal. Therefore altruism (Jen) leads to love (Ai)."[169] And finally he maintains that love is centrifugal.[170]

In short the Chinese idea of Jen on its higher levels of definition and as embodying or being expressed in ethical affection is, it seems to me, practically similar to the Greek ἀγάπη as used in the New Testament. The biblical term is, however, more restricted in its use and meaning. It is with this ethical attitude of reverence or esteem that we are told to love our enemies, our neighbors and God. In the biblical term, therefore, the idea of indiscrimination stands out more exclusively than in the Chinese term Jen. Both Christian and Chinese writers (the later ones most clearly) think of this affectionate goodwill as the principal characteristic of the entity underlying the known universe. While the Chinese do not, so far as I know, use the phrases, "Tao is love," or "T'ien is Love" or "Nature is Love" as the Christian uses the phrase "God is Love," yet, leaving out of consideration for the moment the question of personality in connection with this fundamental entity, the Chinese idea of this underlying "nature" as being primarily love is, it seems to me, practically equivalent to the Christian idea. The Chinese term "ai" corresponds somewhat to the Greek term φιλεῖν. It more definitely than ἀγάπη suggests the personal emotional attitude or personal affection. The distinction between these two Greek terms as used in the New Testament is, however, lost in the Chinese versions of the Bible. The minds of Christian translators have been uncertain though they have moved towards the use of "ai," which certainly more generally suggests personal affection rather than the ethical attitude of esteem or appreciation. The earlier translators used "Jen" (仁). The most popular Wenli version (circa 1840) used "Jen." Current Union versions use "ai" (愛). One-Medhurst (1838)-used the two together "Jen-Ai" (仁 愛). Here is a point for Chinese Christian translators to take up and settle.

In the case of both Chinese and Christian terms sex love is not included. This means that in itself the love being discussed is based on something other than an emotional or erotic interest in others growing out of a physical relationship only. There does not seem to be much

168. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 265.
169. Philosophy of Human Nature, Bruce, page 345.
170. Philosophy of Human Nature, Bruce, page 272.

difference between the Chinese and Christian ideas of love when both are viewed on their highest levels of exposition.

It should be kept in mind that while Chu Hsi undoubtedly added to the richness of the ideal of love as such he nevertheless maintains that the five cardinal virtues, an heritage from China's dim past, are summed up in love and that for this reason Confucius and Mencius "simply taught men to seek Love."[171] The emphasis on altruistic affection is the same from very early time though the meaning of that "altruistic affection" grew with time.

It is thus seen that this underlying ethical entity according to a prevalent strain of Chinese thought, manifested itself in and through love. This love is spoken of as self-existent and as expressed through affection. Confucius makes this same point when he says that the meaning of Jen (仁) is to love (愛) man.[172] Little of what has been said about love can be traced back to the Tao Teh King. It is an accumulative heritage. It is most clear in Chu Hsi. But it seems to be clearly and logically a development of that fundamental ethical heart of the universe posited by Lao Tzu and assumed by other Chinese thinkers.

Some controversy as to whether or not this moral element is present in man and nature there has been of course. But the bent of the Chinese mind has expressed itself in the selection of and emphasis upon those books and writers which base their thoughts upon this foundation.

As to the range of its application there has also been divergence. This will be dealt with later. In the meantime we may note that Lao Tzu, Mo Tzu and Yen Yui, a disciple of Confucius, represent a school of thought which sought to make its application commensurate with its cosmic significance. But the other school, including Confucius and some of his sources, succeeded in limiting its application to those who exhibited it in themselves and to those within restricted family relationships. Thus Jen came to suggest a love based on partiality, to which Lao Tzu seems to have objected and which Mo Tzu certainly opposed. Confucius seems at times to conceive of love as operating at its maximum within the circle of friends and relatives. Outside of that justice of a somewhat cold aspect should control human action. This is well illustrated in an incident quoted in the Han Ying.[173] This may be a legend but it is suggestive nevertheless. Confucius, so it is said, discussed, with some of his disciples, Lao Tzu's famous dictum on meeting enmity with kindness. The discussion here referred to contains more than the reference thereto recorded in the Analects.[174] Yen Yui said that he would be good to people when they were not good to him. This is evidently an echo of the Tao Teh King. Confucius said that Hui's

171. Philosophy of Human Nature, Bruce, page 315.
172. Analects, XII, XXII.
173. Sacred Books of the East, Müller, Vol. XXXIX, page 92.
174. Analects, XIV, 36.

(another name for Yen Yui) attitude was such as might be expected among "relatives and near connections". The incident is true to the attitude of the orthodox Confucian school of thought whether it be historically true or not.

The universe is, then, according to a prevalent strain in Chinese thought, built up on an ethical basis. The environment in which men find themselves is permeated by an active ethical bent. Albert Schweizer[175] says that our age lacks an ethical theory for the universe. May we not say that the Chinese sages have, to some extent, developed such an ethical theory of the universe? That it has been obscured through superstition, animism, illiteracy and inconclusive thinking on the part of some does not invalidate this point. Neither is its meaning weakened by reason of the fact that this ethical bent as thus posited at the heart of the universe has never been fully released in Chinese life. Neither Chinese nor Christian idealists have yet realized their ideals or exhausted their powers of idealization.

This ethical bent, which is, so to speak, also the ethical spring of the universe was expected to work most fully in human relationships. The original nature of man came from that in the universe and that from something primarily ethical. "Nature" in which man shares is in this sense ethically affirmative. And the view that man was born with the ability to be good became orthodox. It was vigorously challenged but not overthrown. And as a rule man was expected to exercise this ability to be good in relationship with his fellows and not in isolation or for a purely private end. It was here that Buddhism fell athwart Confucianism. Buddhism gained a hold. But it never ousted the prevailing belief in the original ethical bent of man. The orthodox Confucian school, on the other hand, did not make its inclusiveness sufficiently clear. Nevertheless, to let the original goodness of the universe work out in your conduct was looked on as a practical matter. To this practical matter the leading Chinese philosophers have given much more attention than to the problem of any unoriginated incomprehensibility. To love those in relationships with you is the chief duty of man.

That the ethical unity and bent in the universe is affirmative is suggested also in the idea that adjustment to it is the main thing to aim at. Lao Tzu suggests that inaction is necessary to secure its activity.[176] What does he mean? What else but that it will work spontaneously! It requires no urging on our part. In one place Lao Tzu says, indeed, that the Tao-law is spontaneous.[177] Thus, indeed, will also all known physical laws work if provided with the proper conditions. The Tao, with its ethical bent is, like material nature, self-

175. The Decay and Restoration of Civilization.
176. Tao Teh King, Chapter 63:1.
177. Tao Teh King, 25, 5.

acting. Man can only manipulate the conditions; he cannot provide the initial impulse. It is a positive mode of the ultimate, whether that be looked on as being or substance.

It seems to be assumed also by Lao Tzu that men should be ethically active. They are to do or be that which is spontaneous. Even adjustment to a spontaneous ethical bent calls for human action. To respond to enmity with virtue[178] calls for moral assertion against prevalent human tendencies. It calls also for self-control that in itself involves moral effort. Perhaps, physically speaking, this attitude is submissive and quiescent. But psychically speaking it calls for conquest and determination. Even to float down a stream calls for effort to get into the stream. Other Chinese thinkers do not offer us a state of ethical acquiesence either. Chu Hsi, as we have seen, speaks of love as operating away from itself. It is a self-existent and self-working impulse in the universe.

All the above is spiritual in its approach to the nature of the universe and man. That which is back of the universe is ethical and immaterial. It involves an ethical obligation and outlook for men that is significant.

"But", some one queries, "is the conception of the universe as primarily ethical after all religious?". It is religious in at least two senses. (1) It recognizes a universal ethical bent dominating the relationships of men to each other and their universe. (2) It involves a mystical relationship or attitude on the part of men to the ultimate Tao or Nature. This would be true even had no Chinese thinkers recognized that the entity back of all things is personal which we shall later try show is not true. This mystical attitude is quite evident in speculative Taoism. It receives waning emphasis in Confucianism as represented by its principal leaders. It wells up again with added force in the Sung philosophers.

Does Buddhism, in a sense a foreign religion, support the trend of above concepts? It may be said that it does and that in several ways. Buddhism lays great emphasis on moral law as pervading and dominating life and the system of things as known even though falsely known. Its underlying entity is also ethical. There is more than a hint on the part of some Buddhists that this underlying entity is manifested through men. Like Mencius, Chu Hsi, and others, Buddhism generally teaches that we find this moral principle in its reality within ourselves.[179] T'ai Hsü, a modern Buddhist, also, as has been shown, seems to suggest definitely this same idea.[180]

We find, then, a strain of Chinese thought, I think the prevailing one, which looks on the universe as primarily ethical. That which is

178. Tao Teh King, Chapter 63:2.
179. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 162.
180. Page 36.

back of things as known to men has a definite ethical bent which shows itself in the nature of the universe and of man. Back of matter is an entity whose chief quality is ethical love. Out of this fundamental ethical bent at the heart of the universe arise human obligations. The universe expresses something higher than economic interests as its dominant interest. Man lives in an ethical universe. With such a theory Christianity has no conflict.

CHAPTER VIII

The Golden Rule

HOW does the Chinese idea of the law of altruism, commonly called "The Golden Rule," compare with that of the Christians? Have the Chinese, indeed, a rule of life comparable to that of the Christians? This chapter is an attempt to answer these questions. Two subsidiary questions need to be kept in mind. What is the best known Chinese statement of this rule of life? Second, how was it generally understood, negatively or positively? The second question is as important as the first, for what the Chinese *understand* this rule to mean is the true index of its significance for them.

Before starting to answer above questions it may help to set forth the principal terms used, the definitions which seem best to me, together with the principal emphases thereon as given by different Chinese thinkers. Some of these have already been referred to[181] and all will be used in this chapter. They have a significance when put together that is not apparent when they are taken separately. All but the last one are pre-Christian terms and emphases.

(A) The three principal terms.

(1) 仁 (Jen)=Ethical love.[182]

(2) 愛 (Ai)=Personal or affectional love.

"Jen" appears to be most commonly used as a substantive and much less frequently as a verb. The reverse seems to be the case with "Ai."

(3) 親 (Ch'in)=Relational love. Of these three terms "Ch'in" seems to be less common than the others, though all are to some extent interchangeable. Ethical love, for instance, is sometimes thought of as affectional love and sometimes as relational love. Chu Hsi uses all three terms, and seems to conceive of some one quality running through all three of them. Ethical love and affectional love have implications wider than those arising out of relational love.

(B) Three special and well-known emphases.

(1) 汎 愛 (Fan Ai)=Comprehensive or overflowing love, and sometimes universal love. This expression was used originally by Confucius.[183] It was used by Chuang Tzu also.

(2) 兼 愛 (Chien Ai)=Equal, indiscriminating or universal love. A relationship of love in which those loving share their mutual love on a basis of equality: in loving they are equal. This phrase was used by Mo Tzu and gave one of his principal emphases in contrast to an

181. Pages 91-96.
182. Page 95.
183. Analects I. VI.

idea of love that was partial to some and graded in its attitude to others. His idea of "equal love" was thus in sharp contrast to that of relational love and to ethical love when thought of in terms of relational love. It thus stands in direct contrast to a love which is partial or that involves gradation as between people differently placed in society. Wang Yang Ming (15th century A.D.) seems to recognize that Mo Tzu thought of Chien Ai (Equal love) as a synonym for Jen (Ethical love.) Wang, however, refuses to accept this identification. For him, while Jen was universal, it nevertheless manifested itself through a system of gradation (有 等 殺). Mo Tzu's idea of equal love did not prevail over this prominent Confucian idea, that of love expressed in gradation. Reference will be made later to this conflict.

(3) 博 愛 (Po Ai)=Universal love. This phrase apparently appears for the first time in the writings of the philosopher, statesman and poet, Han Yü (A.D. 768-824). He identifies universal love (Po Ai) and ethical love (Jen) and makes the fitting practice of universal love equivalent to righteousness.[184] One of Wang Yang Ming's (A.D. 1472-1528) reasons for objecting to Mo Tzu's idea of equal love is that it is an instance of carrying Jen(仁) too far.[185] He, however, accepts Han Yü's position. Wang also says that Ai and Jen have the same meaning, and that the idea that universal love is the same as Jen is practically the idea held by Mencius.[186] I have seen this term used in Christian mottoes and inscriptions.

These terms and emphases must be kept together in mind if one would understand to some extent the Chinese idea of love as the law of life. It has been shown that to some extent Chinese religious ideas have, with the passing of time, blended into each other.[187] The same thing seems to be true of these various terms for, and emphases upon, the concept of love. Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200) exhibits this blending of the above terms and emphases though he does not, so far as I know, use the phrase "universal love" (Po Ai).

We may now pick up again the thread of thought where we laid it down in the previous chapter. We had noted that one prevalent Chinese idea is that the universe is permeated by an active ethical bent.[188] This ethical bent is a part of human nature which is for that reason good. This ethical bent shows itself as love which in its various aspects is ethical, affectional and relational. According even to Confucius love should overflow its relational limits. This overflowing love is that which a youth should have towards all men after he has shown

184. 中華國文教科書四集, 唐文, 一百五十頁.
185. Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming, Henke, page 376.
186. Mencius Book II, Part I, Chapter 6, 5.
187. Page 35.
188. Page 97.

DIVINITY

a proper attitude towards parents and elders.[189] And according to Mo Tzu and Han Yü it should be universal. In Chu Hsi on its highest levels it becomes the cosmic mind. It is not simply the absence of selfishness. For Chu Hsi love (Ai) in its universal sense is higher than ethical love (Jen). It is a vitalizing impulse.[190]

In this concept there is transcendentalism, though this has not received sufficient emphasis so far as Confucianism is concerned. This under-emphasis on the transcendental aspects of the cosmos was corrected to some extent by Buddhism.

How is this concept of a universe characterized by an ethical trend expected to work out in human relationships? What is the Chinese idea of the law of life, The "Golden Rule" so called; the law of *reciprocal love* in fact? In answering this question I do not propose to determine whether or not the Chinese have been more or less successful than their contemporaneous world-dwellers in putting into practice the ideals they have dug out by introspective study of their own nature and that of the universe. Assuming that there is correspondence between the norm of human conduct as formulated and understood by both Chinese and Christian thinkers, it is more important to realize that neither can hope to work out these ideals on a world-wide scale without the aid of the other. To promote such co-operation in the realization of ideals is the purpose of this attempt to compare the Chinese and Christian ideas of the "Golden Rule."

For a number of years it has been my custom when lecturing to recently arrived missionaries in China to ask them, "What is the most inclusive single Christian precept?" The answer of the majority has been, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." No inconsiderable proportion of missionaries arrive in China under the impression that such a statement cannot be paralleled in Chinese "scriptures." And even when such a parallel is known it is quite common to speak of it as "negative." This implies in the mind of those so thinking that the Chinese "Golden Rule" is weaker in meaning than the one known to Christians. My aim is to show that the Chinese "Golden Rule" *as understood* differs little if at all in significance and meaning from the one known to Christians. It is really a "golden" not a "silver" rule, as it is sometimes called. Here emerges the necessity already mentioned of keeping in mind the difference between the Chinese statement of this rule as commonly quoted and what it has been *understood to mean* by many Chinese.

Three times in the Analects or "Dialogues of Confucius," as Soothill prefers to call them,[191] is found a Confucian statement of the Golden

189. Analect I. VI.
190. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 269.
191. Analects, Soothill, page 118.

Rule. The most familiar and the one used twice is, as usually translated, "Do not do to others what you would not like yourself."[192] Verbally this is negative. Such verbal negativeness, however, is frequently met with in Chinese literature and thought. In the West we usually begin with the idea of "right." In China the "right" is frequently spoken of as the "not-wrong." This is a common as well as a literary usage. Actually this verbally negative usage suggests, certainly in many cases, a positive meaning. Psychologically it implies a standard of right or "goodness" that is fixed and to some extent known. It is easier to say what is wrong in any situation, because it usually means indicating what one does not like personally, than it is to say what is idealistically right, because this latter approach involves metaphysical knowledge which is beyond man's ken. It is easier to detect what is out of line with the ethical bent in the universe than to comprehend all the truth embedded in it. To say something is right is to have in mind its *similarity* with the standard of reference in the mind of the speaker. When the Chinese say that something is "not-wrong" they mean that it shows no *dissimilarity* when referred to the standard of conduct. The point need not be labored. It is elusive. It seems for practical purposes to involve a distinction without a difference. As *understood* by most Chinese the distinction does not seem to make much difference.

Recently a graduate of Boston University, Rev. Z. K. Zia, now on the staff of the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai, re-translated this phrase in a way to suggest more clearly its positive significance. "Do not give what you do not want yourself."[193] Thus translated the phrase means that we should give others the best we have, for we never want the worst for ourselves. It thus differs little in significance from Christ's statement, "Everything, therefore, be it what it may, that you would have men do to you, do you also the same to them."[194] In both cases one is to determine his treatment of others in terms of his own wishes. While verbally negative, the Chinese statement is seen, therefore, to carry a positive significance. Certainly its significance does not end in the notion that all men need to do as regards their "neighbors" is to desist from doing things unpleasant to them.

It can be shown, moreover, that some Chinese have actually put this law of life into verbally positive form also. Some years ago I asked a Chinese teacher in the Peking Language School (now the Yenching School of Chinese Studies) to find for me a Confucian statement that puts this law of reciprocal love positively. By way of answer

192. Analects, Soothill, page 651.
193. The Confucian Civilization, Z. K. Zia, page 21.
194. Matthew 7:12, Weymouth.

he quoted to me another statement made by Confucius.[195] "He who loves desires to establish himself (in order) to establish others, and desires to develop himself (in order) to develop others." Legge, the well-known translator of the Chinese Classics, says that in this statement we have a near approach to a positive enunciation of the Golden Rule.[196] But it is more than a "near approach." It is verbally and potently positive. Another statement[197] reads, "The good man loves his fellow-men as he loves himself." (善人愛人如愛己). This seems to be an old saying though its actual source I have not been able to discover. It is a quotation in the passage cited. A common proverb puts it this way, "Love others (愛) with the heart with which you love yourself, then ethical love (仁) will abound: hate yourself with the heart with which you hate others, then righteousness will abound."[198] This proverb implies that it is through personal love that ethical love is to be shown. This is precisely Chu Hsi's idea also. Another variation of the same theme is, "Before laying a burden on others first ask if, for yourself, you should like it; if not do not impose it."[199] It is clear, then, that a positive statement of this law of reciprocal love was not uncommon. All of which goes to show that while the most commonly known statement of the Chinese "Golden Rule" was negative verbally, it was very frequently understood as well as put positively.

In the two statements of the "Golden Rule" as given by Christ[200] there are two aspects. (1) *Love* others as yourself. (2) *Treat* others as yourself. The first is an attitude, the second an activity. While these two aspects of the law of life as given by Christ are not found together, they are given equal emphasis by Him and are in effect linked together. They are two aspects of one law. Confucius seems to lay more emphasis on men's *treatment* of their fellows than he does on their feeling or personal attitude towards them. But Mencius and, particularly, Mo Tzu lay more emphasis upon the *feeling* or personal side of human relationships. When Mencius defines the cardinal virtues of love, righteousness, reverence and wisdom, he lays emphasis upon the sympathetic attitude.[201] Nevertheless in thinking of human relationships all the Confucianists go back to ethical love (Jen), which taken in the fullest sense includes both the feeling attitude and the practical

195. Analect VI, XXVII.

196. Analects of Confucius, Commercial Press edition, page 58.

197. Moral Tenets and Customs of China, Weiger, page 273.

198. Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb, Plopper, page 234. It is quoted from A Complete Chinese Encyclopedia. (古今圖書集成)

199. Rules of the Disciples, Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, page 232.

200. Math. 7:12; Mark 12:13.

201. Mencius Book II, Part I, Chapter VI, 5.

doing of those things belonging to it. This explains why ethical love and personal love are taken to be the same as has already been indicated. Christians, as a matter of fact, usually say more about the *feeling* aspects of the "Golden Rule" than about its *doing* aspect: for they most frequently quote the one about loving. In popular current speech this Chinese "Golden Rule" is shortened to "Love others as yourself" and in this form is often seen posted up in public. This phrase, it is sometimes claimed, has a Christian source. This explanation, however, in view of the facts given above, seems rather far-fetched. In any event both the feeling and the doing aspects of the "Golden Rule" are found in both Chinese and Christian thought.

Before going any further we might ask, How do some living Chinese feel about the Chinese "Golden Rule" as compared with that of the Christians? Two Chinese expressions of opinion may be quoted in reply. During a discussion a year or two ago with the large group of Chinese teachers in the Yenching School of Chinese Studies in Peking one of those present said that in his opinion the Chinese "Golden Rule" is easier to keep than its Christian counterpart. The reason given was that the keeping of the Chinese "Golden Rule" requires only that one does not do to others what one does not want. The Christian "Golden Rule," however, requires that one should meet another's need whether one has a similar need or not. He had in mind, of course, only the verbally negative statement. We have already seen that such an interpretation of this law of life is not always held by the Chinese and that it is not always put negatively. As a matter of fact the difference between the significance of even the verbally negative Chinese statement and the verbally positive Christian one is more apparent than real. For if a man with a loaf of bread met another who was starving it might look as though the requirement of the "Golden Rule" were met if the man with the loaf simply did not do anything unpleasant to the one who had none. But actually the withholding of food from a hungry man is doing something to him that one would not want done to oneself. Either statement requires that a man put himself in another's place and then decide what should be done. Confucius himself speaks of drawing from yourself a parallel for the treatment of others.[202] This is perhaps to put the emphasis more on putting the other man in your place than putting yourself in his place. For practical purposes, however, this is another distinction without a difference in effect.

Another recent comment from a different angle was sent me by Professor William Hung of Yenching University, Peking. "Apply moderation in the relation of men to one another is one idea implied in the Confucian teaching on reciprocity. Reciprocity is explained as

202. Analects VI, XXVIII.

meaning, 'Put yourself in the other man's place,' or 'Do not do to others what you would not like others to do to you.' Chinese scholars are not willing to recognize what hair-splitting theologians often speak of as the superiority of the positive Christian Golden Rule over the Golden Rule of Confucius expressed in a negative form. To me there is at least this difference which is worth noting. It takes the vigorous and overwhelmingly impetuous temperament of Western peoples to follow either the Golden Rule of Christian missionary pioneers, 'Whatever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them,' interpreted in the sense of Cromwell's words, 'not what they wish but what is good for them,' or the Golden Rule of the fictitious David Harum, 'Do unto the other fellow the way he'd like to do unto you, and do it first,' which unfortunately is not less widely practised than the Christian Golden Rule. The modern West has developed in its peoples an attitude of aggressive mercilessness towards nature which they attack and conquer at will and which seems to influence even their attitude towards one another. Are they really conscious of the fact that the other man is on the same plane of existence and with an equality that deserves recognition? Or in the world of competition, of promotion, of efficiency and of production and consumption on a large scale, do they sometimes forget the inherent worth and dignity of the other man, patronizing him or exploiting him or using him as a mere part of a machine?"

These two expressions of opinion on the comparative significance of the Chinese and Christian "Golden Rule" indicate a difference of attitude thereto. Both would seem to agree, however, that the Chinese attitude towards the practice of the "Golden Rule" is less aggressive than that of their Western Christian contemporaries. This difference in aggressiveness is not due to lack of appreciation of the meaning of the "Golden Rule" but to a keener appreciation of the sacredness and rights of personalities. This tempered aggressiveness is the sign of a keener appreciation of the other fellow. The effort to fit one's good deeds into the personality of the "neighbor" adds to the difficulty of working the "Golden Rule," whether it be as phrased by the Chinese or the Christians. To this difficulty the Chinese seem more sensitive than Western Christians. This finer appreciation of the personality of the "neighbor" is one emphasis that the Chinese can add to the world-wide working of the "Golden Rule."

Another question now emerges. What is the theoretical or actual range of application of the "Golden Rule" in China? Who are meant by the term "man" (人) which may often be translated "other men" or "neighbor?" Confucianism concentrates attention on the family seniors as those with whom "loving others" must begin. But he does not stop there. To some extent, however, "Jen," ethical love, is synonymous with love for family seniors. In the "Rule of the Disciples," an undated

summary of some Confucian precepts,[203] we read "All the fathers are to be served as one's own father: all the brothers as one's own brother." "The Chart of Chinese Ethics"[204] also says, "Treat all children with kindness, not your own only." The popular Taoist compilation, "The Book of Rewards and Punishments," thus sets forth this idea of extending the love one has for one's own family to others, "The good man when he sees the old or young will certainly treat them with compassion and love. For each man is able to reverence his own venerables (parents). He is then able to extend this filial heart or attitude to the venerables of other men, for in his heart he has this idea of reverence. Similarly the compassionate and loving attitude that each shows to his own children can be extended to those of others. This is the meaning of the saying, 'The good man loves others as he loves himself.' "[205] The "Clarion," a book published on or about A.D. 1628 by the literatus Anling, says, "Love for men begins with love for parents." Confucius also says, "Are not filial piety and fraternal devotion the root of Jen?"[206] These statements all show that love is expected to go far beyond one's immediate relations. It is sometimes suggested that this exchange of love is fullest between ethical equals or people of like virtue and character. This applies particularly to the relationships of "The Princely Man" with others than those in his own family. But it does not stop there. "Those who have 'Jen,' ethical love, show affection for all but consider intimate affection with the good most important."[207]

When Wang Yang Ming criticizes Mo Tzu's idea of "equal love" another reason he gives is that in his judgment Mo Tzu, having eliminated discrimination with regards to first loving seniors, has left himself without a starting point for loving.[208] A discriminating love for family seniors is thus considered the important starting point for loving. But Mo Tzu refused to admit that seniority has the first or principal claim upon love, or that the special attitude of love towards seniors is the same as that which should be shown to all men. Mo Tzu argued that this discriminating love had brought social evil in its train. This social distinction was, he charged, the cause of many of the social inequities then existing. Reciprocal love must then, according to Mo Tzu, include something other than physiological consanguinity or the natural but accidental position of seniority.

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203. Moral Tenets and Customs of China, Weiger, page 227.

204. Page 9.

205. Moral Tenets and Customs of China, Weiger, page 273. [The translation is my own.]

206. Analects II, I.

207. Mencius, Book VII, Part I, Chapter XLVI.

208. Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming, Henke, page 49.

The theory of the scope of the "Golden Rule" is much wider than its practice even in China. Confucius' idea of the "overflowing" love emphasizes the affectional side. He inculcates a love that, finally at least, embraces "all men." It has already been hinted that such an affection for all men is possible even though one is more intimate with one's ethical equals. The idea seems to be that while one should love all men, affectionate intimacy is possible only with those of like character with oneself. Mo Tzu seemed to teach that all men should be loved as freely as one's most honored relative. In this teaching he also seems to imply that family love should be extended to all men. The Confucianist moves toward a gradation in the expression of this love. But neither seems to have analyzed just what seems to be the difficulty involved. The nature of the love to be shown to all men is not clearly set forth.

The particular emotional element involved in a close physiological relationship and long association is difficult, if not impossible, to transfer to all men. One explanation given as to why ἀγάπη is used so generally in the New Testament is that love as an emotion cannot be commanded but only love as a choice.[209] Theoretically, though unconsciously, Chinese thinkers have tried to command an emotional attitude towards all men rather than an ethical one, at least they have mixed the two up. While Mo Tzu thought of love as an attitude towards persons in contrast to Wang Yang Ming's idea that it was primarily the love of principles, yet even Mo Tzu, like most Confucianists, seems to have thought of the emotional family attitude as being one that could be commanded and so extended to all men. Han Yü seems to have moved away from this vague position a little when he said that "Po Ai," universal love, is the same as "Jen," ethical love. However, he and others continued to mix up the special emotional attitude with the ethical attitude. Christ, it seems to me, kept them separate.

Without being dogmatic as to the answer, we may ask, Can the special emotional attitude that exists between members of the same family be extended to all men? Can men feel towards all men as they feel towards those with whom they are physiologically related? Can men feel towards the parents and children of others as they feel towards their own? It would seem inevitable that there should be gradation of love under these circumstances. With this Confucian idea of the gradation of love there went also gradation of responsibility. This latter idea may have hindered the development of social organization to take care of social defectives. The various philanthropic efforts of the Buddhists corrected this in some measure.

Now Christianity calls on men to love other men as God loves them. This is an implicit if not explicit rule of life. But it has gotten around

209. Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, Thayer, page 653.

the difficulty involved in calling on men to love other men as they love those closely related to them. Christians aim to express the world-wide relationship of men in terms of brotherhood. In brotherhood there is, it is true, involved the idea of close family relationship. But brothers and sisters are looked on as equals. So that the idea of gradation in love disappears. The concept of brotherhood is familiar to the Chinese as will be seen in an incident given in the next paragraph. Christ, however, took the ideal of human relationship one step further. He seemed to think of *friendship* as providing the freest and fullest opportunity for the interchange of human goods and experience. "I have called you friends," he said.[210] He had shown his friendship by sharing with his followers the best his Father had shared with him. They were to be friends if they did what he commanded. In friendship every trace of any special family emotional attitude disappears. It is human relationship on the highest possible level. With this concept of friendship the Chinese are also quite familiar.

We, see, then, that even in the sayings attributed to Confucius the love which is expressed through the working of the "Golden Rule" is universal to the extent of including *all* known people. "Fan Ai," "Chien Ai" and "Po Ai" all suggest a love that is universalized. The inclusiveness of this bond of love is seen in an interesting incident given in the Analects.[211] A disciple of Confucius complained that while all the world had brothers he had none. To this the reply was made, "When the man of noble mind unfailingly conducts himself with self-respect, and is courteous and well-behaved with others, then all within the four seas are (his) brothers."[212] This is equivalent to saying that when one behaves like a brother he will have brothers; to have brothers one must be a brother. And this love, which is at least theoretically universal, is the chief characteristic of man.

Perhaps part of China's difficulty in working this "Golden Rule" of love is due to the attempt to express it mainly through the limited relationship of family seniority. Other lands have other hindrances just as evident. Furthermore, there has been a tendency to lay the emphasis increasingly on the love of principles rather than on love of persons. This, however, is a confusion of mind not found in China only. It is one difficulty embedded in denominationalism. It was one of the difficulties which spoiled the Pharisees as religious leaders. Modern Christians often flounder in the same morass. Christ, however, laid emphasis on love of persons as persons. Mo Tzu seems to have put the emphasis in the same place. The Chinese emphasis on the sacredness of personalities should make it easy for them to correct this difficulty.

210. John 15:14, 15.
211. Analects, XII, III.
212. The Analects, Soothill, page 567.

All this is rather a question of application and philosophical approach than of essential ideal.

How far do Chinese thinkers expect one to go in living up to the "Golden Rule," even though there is mental vagueness as to its proper starting point? According to information received and my own impressions of the ideal in the Chinese Classics, the "Princely Man's" chief characteristic is to live so as to benefit others. "Jen," ethical love, is throughout a term which emphasizes the alter rather than the ego.

So far we have been trying to discover who, according to Chinese ideals, is to be loved and treated as we think we ourselves should be loved and treated. We must ask further, By what standard do the Chinese determine when one's treatment of his fellow-men is properly reciprocal? Answering this question is not easy. The "Golden Rule" as given by Christ, when taken by itself, makes self-love and self-treatment the standard of reference for the love and treatment of others. Most men have a fairly definite attitude towards themselves and an equally definite notion of how they should be treated. This attitude and notion determine the way men treat themselves. The way men treat themselves is, in a sense, the proof of the way they love themselves. Even sacrifice of the highest type does not call for the death of self-regard and self-respect. According to the law of reciprocal love other men are to be in some way the recipients of the love and treatment we accord ourselves. In both Chinese and Christian utterances we find that at times our efforts for others should be beyond those for ourselves. This is evident more, perhaps, in Christ's acts than His words. There are times, then, when vicarious effort for others implies that our love for them is greater than our love for ourselves or our regard for our own interests.

Do the Chinese take their self-love or self-attitude and self-treatment as the norm for their love and treatment of others? An affirmative answer is implicit in much already said. Confucius as we have seen held this view. This idea Chu Hsi also accepts when commenting on the statement by Confucius.[213] The same idea is brought out by Chang Tsai (1020 A.D.), a predecessor of Chu Hsi. Incidentally he also puts the "Golden Rule" in a positive form. "To blame others as we blame ourselves is to fulfil the moral law. To love others as we love ourselves is to perfect love."[214] It seems clear, then, that the standard of reference back of the "Golden Rule" is essentially the same in both the Chinese and Christian systems of thought. The prevailing idea of "Jen," ethical love, is that of *centrifugal* good-will. Paul said[215] that all the law has been kept when the rule of love has been achieved.

213. Analects, Soothill, page 320.
214. Chu Hsi and his Masters, Bruce, page 53.
215. Gal. V:14.

Chu Hsi, many centuries later, said, "If a man have not love, the essence of moral law is gone."[216] To transfer self-esteem and self-treatment to other men is the primary law of human relationships. This ideal is on a higher level of thought than that on which universal love is thought of in terms of the emotional family attitude.

But did Chinese thinkers ever stress the idea of *vicarious* love? Did they, like the Christians, also conceive that at times their love for others should surpass that for themselves? Did they at times think of doing for others what would be unnecessary for themselves and so suffering to some extent for others? I think they did. And in so far as this is considered a part of the working of the "Golden Rule" as understood by the Chinese, it is a reply to the Chinese teacher mentioned earlier in this chapter who claimed that the Chinese "Golden Rule" is easier worked than its Christian counterpart. This question once came up in a Chinese student Bible class. In answer thereto one student quoted a well-known phrase from Confucius.[217] "There are those who will kill themselves to achieve 'Jen' (ethical love)." This might imply losing one's life for another, though it seems to refer mainly to preferring death to loss of moral rectitude. The student did not, however, in this case quote it with the idea of moral rectitude alone in mind. Mencius expressed the same idea.[218] Mencius also may have included dying for others. But I am inclined to think that in both cases fearless adherence to principle, a characteristic of China's staunch spiritual leaders, is in mind more than vicarious love for persons. In any event vicarious love is not very clearly emphasized in these references.

Nevertheless vicarious love and effort is included in Chinese ideals and practice. One quotation I have come across which is apparently ancient is, "The scholar will die for his friend." John said that such love could not be surpassed.[219] Ancient laws called for willingness to die for father, prince and teacher.[220] The popular concept of the sage implies vicarious effort on his part. Two instances from China's past will serve to show that the principle of vicarious suffering was to some extent known and practised even then. King T'ang (B.C. 1705) was disturbed by the social upheaval resulting from his having overthrown a tyrant. He expressed his willingness to suffer in the stead of his country in these words: "If I have sinned let it not concern the country. If my country has sinned let the sin rest on me."[221] And again later (B.C. 1121 or thereabout) the Duke of Kau, a name in Chinese history,

216. Philosophy of Human Nature, Bruce, page 279.
217. Analects, XV, VIII.
218. Mencius, Book VI, Part I, Chapter X. 2.
219. John 15:13.
220. Analects, Soothill, page 540.
221. Analects, Soothill's translation, XX, 1, 3.

according to Legge, second only to that of Confucius, offered to die instead of his brother the king who was sick.[222] Of Mo Tzu, who was not within the favored Confucian group, Mencius said that he was willing to make just such vicarious effort for all men.[223] This ideal is thus seen to be included also in Confucian ideals.

Confucianism, however, is not very explicit as to the putting forth of vicarious effort for the unworthy. Yet even in Confucian thought the unworthy are to be repaid with other than unworthy treatment. Some Chinese go beyond the strict letter of the saying of Confucius, "Repay enmity with justice and kindness with kindness."[224] The "Chart of Chinese Ethics" does not stop here.[225] "Remember not old injuries, and treat men according to their several capacity." "A great soul can bear an offence without resenting it." "Kindness must be repaid, but not injury." "Rather suffer a wrong than do one." But Christianity most definitely includes the *unworthy* as beneficiaries of love. Christianity may thus at this point be credited with applying the "Golden Rule" on a wider scale than Confucianism.

Buddhism, however, extends love to *all* men. Love is usually looked on by Buddhists as the most important means of personal emancipation. It is thus a means to a personal end. Christianity and Confucianism look on altruism as an end in itself. Buddhism seems to agree with the position taken by Laotsz, Mo Tzu and Yen Yui, that somewhat submerged school of Chinese thought,[226] for Gautama said, "Hatred never ceases by hatred, but only through love is it put to an end."[227] This saying is based on the story of a king who forgave his enemy, another king. Some writers on Buddhism consider the Bodhisattva ideal as being one of vicarious loving throughout. Santideve, a member of the University of Nalanda, wrote a compendium in which he showed that the Bodhisattva regards others even beyond himself. "It is better that I alone should suffer than that others should sink to torment." In this ideal the thought of love as a means to an end has merged into something higher. The end sought concerns others more than the Bodhisattva himself.[228]

This Bodhisattva ideal, though a speculative concept mainly, is one of a spiritual being who, in order to assist others, whose personal merit is inadequate to attain eternal bliss, gives up not only a physical life which might be simply a passing moment of experience but lays

222. Sacred Books of the East, Volume III, pages 152-156.
223. Mencius, Book VII, Part I, Chapter XXVI, 2.
224. Analects, XXIV, XXXVI.
225. Page 9.
226. Page 96.
227. Quoted by Kenneth Saunders, in Gotoma Buddha, from Sacred Books of the East, XIII.
228. Epochs of Buddhist History, Saunders, page 103.

aside more or less permanently his or her own merited right to this same eternal bliss. Whether or not this waiving of the right to enter into eternal bliss causes regret or suffering is not clear. It is, however, vicarious love and effort on a high level.

It is evident that there has been increase in Chinese thought of the richness of this rule of reciprocal loving. Yet the germ of most that has been said about Confucian ideas of the "Golden Rule" is found in the sayings of the early Confucianists or those held up by them as ideals. And adding to what the Confucianists have said and practised, the Buddhist ideas and precepts, we may say that the Chinese and Christian ideals of reciprocal love are strikingly similar. To this may be added the frequent practice of vicarious sacrificial deeds in family life. The dissimilarities have to do with the methods of application, which is a matter of the social structure and not of the altruistic ideal. Chinese leaders of thought knew well that the only way to win men is to love them. That is the meaning of Mencius' saying, "that force never leads men to submit in heart."[229]

We may conclude by quoting again from that most popular work, "The Book of Rewards and Punishment."[230] In this quotation Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism are all blended. It shows, however, that a recognition of the necessity of practising reciprocal love is deeply embedded in popular Chinese lore. "If you desire to become a good man, you must understand what the two words 'this man and the other' (self and the fellow man) mean. If you do not understand the meaning of these two groups, why then for you to be a man between heaven and earth means (only) that in this life you will be wicked and in the next an animal."

It is clear, therefore that the ideal of reciprocal love, "Love men as yourself," is deeply rooted in Chinese thought. It is not borrowed and negative. It is an original and positive Chinese ideal. It is not a matter either of scholars or religious recluses only. It is found in popular life and thought also.

229. Mencius, Book II, Part I, Chapter III, 2.
230. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Weiger, page 289.

CHAPTER IX

The Supreme Being

THE cosmos reveals an ethical bent. It is built up on an ethical basis. Its nature is primarily ethical. This ethical bent heads up in love. This love should be reciprocal and should express itself in sacrificial altruism.[231] The origin and nature of evil, however, is not conclusively defined.[232] These ideas are, we have seen in previous chapters, held by many leading Chinese thinkers. But do Chinese ideas about the cosmos stop here? Is there an ethical being in connection with or back of this ethical universe? The aim of this chapter is to show that *some* Chinese have expressed themselves in ways that point to the existence of a personal and ethical Supreme Being. Some only of the outstanding points in Chinese thought on this subject will be given. It is too extensive and complex to permit of more in this connection. I have dealt with it at greater length elsewhere.[233] For this reason and because of lack of space, this chapter will deal only with some of the higher and most significant theistic ideas and attitudes in China's religious experience. Taken together they indicate clearly that what *some* Chinese have thought and said about the Supreme Entity points to the Supreme Being.

Two approaches to this subject are evident in Chinese thought, the philosophical and the religious. Both approaches have been recently dealt with historically.[234] I shall confine myself to some of those aspects of the religious approach which imply a personal Supreme Being. For although God's nature contains much more than human personality reveals, yet he can only be understood and his significance for human experience appreciated in terms of the highest aspect of reality as we know it—personality. This is true even though the nature or personality of the Supreme Being is beyond human ken, a point that many Chinese thinkers stress. The same thing, however, is true of human personality. Both are unfathomable. The one that is nearer can, however, be used as an approach to the one farther away. That is an approach often stressed in Chinese philosophy.

Have the Chinese, then, any worthwhile and true conceptions of the Supreme Being? If so, where did they come from? An answer to the first question that shows the presence in the past and present Chinese mind of true conceptions of the Supreme Being would on its face indicate that such conceptions must have come from the one source of truth.

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231. Appendix V.
232. Appendixes III and IV.
233. "Chinese Ideas of the Supreme Being," Presbyterian Mission Press, 1926; Chinese Recorder, July, August, September, 1919, page 461, 545, 613.
234. "The Idea of God in Chinese History" "中國的歷史上帝觀." Wong Yeh Sing, National Christian Literature Association.

Any truth about the Supreme Being that the Chinese have must have come from God. No further attention, therefore, will be paid to the second question. The answer seems obvious.

In trying to show that *some* Chinese have had and still have true conceptions about the Supreme Being I do not intend to imply that the mass of the Chinese people hold them with equal clarity, that they have been, as they should be, in the focus of the religious attention of either the few or the many, or that they are complete.

There is in China a general recognition of a Supreme Power. Among the illiterate masses this probably amounts to a vague realization of a fatalistic drive in human affairs only. It is only fair to note, however, that the religious fatalism which exists among the masses in China is due very largely to the Buddhist idea of the inexorable wheel of rebirth. Confucianists at times, also, recognized in the "T'ien Ming" (天命), or will or decree of Heaven, a "creative will"[235] underlying all things, which *predetermines* human endowments and social functions. Some Confucianists, however, recognize also that men can, within certain limits at least, determine as to whether their intellectual and ethical endowments shall deteriorate or develop. This is one basis of human moral responsibility. Earlier Confucianism seems to have over-emphasized determinism. For this reason Mo Tzu (B.C. 500-420?) was strongly "anti-decree," or anti-deterministic."[236] The masses of the Chinese people, however, know that the Supreme Power is able to carry out what is morally required. He has both the authority and the power to reward the good and punish the evil. Thus, insofar as a recognition of the inexorability of moral law is fatalistic, then most of the Chinese are fatalistic. However, even among the masses there are current other and higher ideas of the Supreme Being. I once questioned a small group of schoolboys who had not, so far as I could ascertain, come into contact with Christianity and found among them ideas of the ethical and loving character of a Supreme Being, whom some spoke of as "T'ien" and some as "Shangti."

As far as I know no Chinese non-Christian thinker has tried to systematize such ideas of the Supreme Being as exist in China's religious experience. Even Christian Chinese have done very little independently along this line. Within recent generations Chinese thinkers have tended somewhat towards rationalism. They seem to have picked out one aspect of the Sung Philosophy, particularly Chu Hsi's (A.D. 1130-1200) idea that "Heaven is Li" (天卽理也), overlooking much else that he said which has to do with the meaning and content of "Li," and making this one point the keynote of their rationalism. This does not mean, however, that Chinese thinkers of the past or present have been dominantly

235. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 190.
236. A Critical Survey of Mo Tzu (Chinese), Liang, page 9.

atheistic. Open advocates of extreme atheism or rationalism have not been dominant in China's past and are not in absolute control of thought even in the present. Metaphysical arguments for or against the existence of the Supreme Being are not prominent in Chinese thought. Like Chuang Tzu (born about B.C. 330) when in their thinking they come up against the ultimate nature of the Supreme Entity, some of them become uncertain.[237] Confucius (B.C. 551-479) seems to have assumed the existence of the Supreme Being, using the tern "T'ien," in a personalistic way. Mencius (B.C. 372-259) did likewise, though he apparently made a distinction between "T'ien" and "Shangti," the two principle terms for the Supreme Being. Neither discussed or emphasized the subject. Confucius' agnosticism about the spirits and death does not necessarily involve, as it has been made to do, the Supreme Being. Mencius, however, did seem to conceive of him in more impersonal and universal terms. But both gave their chief attention to man as embodying the nature of the ultimate ethical ground of all things. Mencius said that in knowing man we know "T'ien."[238] Here Mencius seems to recognize "T'ien" as supreme. Elsewhere he quotes Confucius to that effect.[239] Neither the Confucianists or the Taoists seem to think of "Tao" or "T'ien" as known *fully* in man's nature.[240]

Chinese thought about the universe revolves in the main around the idea of an underlying unity which is characterized by an ethical bent.[241] A number of terms are used by different writers which indicate this underlying unity. Of these I shall list the most prominent only. These terms may be divided into two groups.

(1) The naturo-theistic terms. The terms in this group refer to the ethical nature of the cosmos and in addition often convey theistic implications by suggesting *personal* ethical qualities. The principle naturo-theistic terms are "Tao" (道), really untranslatable: "T'ien" (天), usually translated "Heaven":[242] "T'ai Chi" (太極), the "Supreme Ultimate" of the Confucian cosmogony, a term found originally in the ancient and cryptic "Book of Change":[243] and "Li" (理) "principle," sometimes designated as "Heavenly principle" (天理), which was used by Chu Hsi as synonymous with the other terms given above and other ethical and theistic terms. That to Chu Hsi this term means something more than a purely mechanistic, materialistic or intellectual concept is seen in his significant comment thereon in his work

237. Page 93.
238. Mencius, Book VII, Part I, Chapter I.
239. Mencius, Book III, Part I, Chapters IV, II.
240. Pages 87-89.
241. See Chapter VII.
242. Pages 91-92.
243. The most illuminating discussion I have seen of this Book is that by Hu Shuh, in "The Development of the Logical Method in China," page 28.

on Mencius.[244] Twice does he speak of the "self-activity" or "spontaneity" (a frequently mentioned attribute of the Supreme Entity in Chinese philosophy) of the "Heavenly-principle." T'ien is Li[245] but Li embodies a quality that makes it more than a mechanistic formula. When furthermore "Li" is shown to consist of love, righteousness, reverence and wisdom[246] and love (仁), which must be added to the above list particularly as used by Chu Hsi and which is spoken of as the "Principle of Origin" to which all things owe their beginning,[247] it is evident that "Li" connotes ideas that give it a *triple* significance—natural, ethical and theistic. To the above terms may perhaps be added "Shing" (性), "nature" frequently used by Mencius and Chu Hsi.

There is frequent reference in Chinese thought to a first cause or origin of all things. This idea of an origin or original cause is connected in the main, though not exclusively, with these naturo-theistic terms. In these terms we have, of course, the philosophic approach to the problem of the Supreme Entity. They all give prominence to the ethical nature of the universe and are often given a spiritual significance,[248] though they do not always imply personal attributes. Since, however, it is my purpose in this chapter to show that *some* Chinese thinkers have spoken of the Supreme Being in theistic terms I shall say no more about the philosophical approach as such, though much might be written on the variant ideas connected with these terms.

(2) The theistic terms. These terms are designated as theistic because they imply a personal being. These are, "Shang Ti" (上帝), usually translated "God": "Shen"[249] (神), the generic term for "spirit": "T'ien Chu" (天主), "Heavenly Lord," the Roman Catholic term for God: "Chen Tsai" (眞宰), "The First Cause," the Mohammedan term for God: "Shang T'ien" (上天), "Supreme Heaven," found in the doctrine of the Mean and the Sacred Edict: "Chu Tsai" (主宰), found quite frequently: and "T'ien Voo" (天父). In popular parlance the equivalent of this last term is "T'ien Lao Ya" or "Lao T'ien Ya" (老天爺), "Venerable Heavenly Father." Chuang Tzu, as we have noted,[250] uses the term "Chen Tsai" (眞宰) when vaguely suggesting that there may be a personal being back of known phenomena.

The fact that the terms "Shang Ti," "T'ien Chu" and "Chen Tsai" have been accepted (not coined) as fitting terms for God as understood

244. Chu Hsi's commentary, Mencius, Book II, Part I, Chapter II, 14, and Chapter VI, 3.

245. Chu Hsi's commentary, Mencius, Book I, Part II, Chapter III, 2.

246. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 173.

247. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 176.

248. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 126.

249. Appendix VI. Also "Meaning of the Word 神, Chinese Recorder, 1901, pages 61, 107, 220, 284, 340, 477, 499: 1902, 71, 123, 186, 232, 290, 343.

250. Page 93.

by three non-Chinese religious bodies—Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan—indicates that all these terms had originally a special theistic significance.

It should be noted, moreover, that these theistic terms, with the possible exception of two, "T'ien Voo" and "Chen Tsai" have all been used in connection with ancient secular or deified beings! "Shang Ti," for instance, has in the remote past monarchical associations. This simply means that all of these terms grew out of human associations. That fact does not, however, invalidate their final significance. Chinese conceptions of the Supreme Being do not depend so much on any one term or group of terms used to designate him as on the nature and significance of the being toward whom they direct attention.

I do not wish to make this interesting assemblage of terms carry too much significance. Of the theistic terms as such little more need be said directly. Frequently, however, like the naturo-theistic terms they direct attention to the Supreme Entity underlying all things.

We have noted that the chief characteristic of this ethical unity or entity underlying all things is love. With love (仁), and often included within it, are grouped the cardinal virtues[251] "righteousness," "reverence," "wisdom" and sometimes "faith" or "reliability" (義禮智信). These five cardinal virtues originate in the underlying ethical unity. This is hinted at by the early Confucianists, developed by Mencius[252] and plainly stated by Chu Hsi.[253] Moreover we find this combination of virtues referred to at a very early date. Tsai Chen (Circa B.C. 1068) said, "Chung" (衷) ("moral sense" or attitude of impartiality) is the "T'ien" conferred decree (will); it is the underlying principle of love, righteousness, reverence, wisdom and faith; that which is impartial is spoken of as 'Chung.'" This is a comment on a statement by the Duke of Chou in the Shu Ching, an old Chinese book. "The Only Great God has conferred a moral sense upon the people." It is significant to note that while Duke Chou uses the term "Shang Ti" the commentator uses the term "T'ien" as an equivalent. Thus the "moral sense" which originates in the Supreme Being is here indicated first by a theistic term and second by what we have called a "naturo-theistic" term and that at an early date. This "moral sense" is looked on as the thread of reality that runs through all the other virtues and like them is a personal quality. Thus the nature of the Supreme Entity (here spoken of in personal terms) is good. Since this goodness is elsewhere summed up in love, a concept which closely approaches, as we have seen, the Christian idea,[254] we may say that it is possible to put together the ethical ideas

251. Philosophy of Human Nature, Bruce, page 352.
252. Mencius, however, only refers to four of the five.
253. Philosophy of Human Nature, Bruce, page 404.
254. Pages 109-113.

of the Supreme Being that *some* Chinese have held and arrive at an idea of the Supreme Being very similar to the Christian ethical concept of God.

Now these five cardinal virtues, which are related to the Supreme Entity, are essentially qualities which belong to human relationships. They appear where the underlying ethical unity enters into relationships with men. They therefore imply the concept of personality. Thus the Supreme Being, even when referred to in naturo-theistic terms, is often thought of in terms of personal relationships and qualities. We may therefore infer that by *some* Chinese thinkers the underlying ethical unity has been thought of in terms of personal qualities. In other words the supreme ethical unity is thought of as a Supreme *Being*. This is, of course, an inference only. One argument that Christians use to show that God is a personal being is to indicate those of his activities and qualities which are personal and necessary inferences from his relationships with men. The same argument may be based on Chinese ideas. Even when speaking philosophically the Chinese have often spoken of the Supreme Entity in terms of personal qualities and activities. He enters into personal relationships. He is, therefore, in some sense personal.

Before carrying farther this line of argument, which aims to show that *some* Chinese have thought and spoken of the Supreme Being as personal, I wish to indicate very briefly something of his characteristics and attributes as suggested by Chinese references to him.

That the Supreme Being is, according to Chinese ideas, spiritual follows from what has been said. The "moral sense" and the cardinal virtues which originate in him are spiritual qualities. Love, which is often taken as the all-inclusive characteristic of the Supreme Being or Entity, is also a spiritual quality. Even in the Tao Te King, where there is little more than a hint of any personal Supreme Being, the Tao is a spiritual concept. One quotation will be added to support the above logical inference. The poet Shao Yung (11th century A.D.) said,

> "Where shall God be found?
> Seek not in distant skies,
> In man's own heart He lies."[255]

This quotation is capable of more than one theological or philosophical interpretation. It cannot, however, be understood apart from a spiritual concept of the Supreme Being in the mind of the speaker.

The Supreme Being is also said to be omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent. The Odes speak of, "The wrath of T'ien." In commenting on this statement Chu Hsi said, "T'ien's wisdom is omnipresent." Tsai Chen (Circa B.C. 1068) said, "T'ien's wisdom is

255. Confucius and His Rivals, Giles, page 240.

all-hearing and all-seeing; this is because he is just." Taking a leap across time we find that the chief Taoist priest of Manchuria said in 1894.[256] "The classics say, 'Most mighty there is nothing he cannot do!'" This same chief priest also said that Shang Ti is without beginning or end. He is thus eternal. The self-consciousness of this Eternal One is implied in a statement made by Confucius, "Is not the one who knows me T'ien?"[257] Many more such corrobative quotations might be brought forward. These must suffice here.

We have seen that various qualities and attributes ascribed to the Supreme Entity by the Chinese imply personality: they imply a Supreme Personality. But is the personality of the Supreme Being ever more than an indirect inference? Apparently the Chinese term for personality has only quite recently appeared. The Bible, moreover, does not say directly God is a person. The idea of the personality of God is, even among Christians, mainly an inference. Only once have I known non-Christian Chinese to say directly that God is a person. Some of the group of school-boys mentioned above, while discussing the idea of God, themselves suggested that God is a person (人). But there are not wanting instances of Chinese who have talked so plainly that only by assuming some idea of a *personal* Supreme Being in their minds can one understand what they have said.

Liang Chi Ch'ao is one of the most popular modern writers in China. He said that Mo Tzu's idea of God is that of a "personal god." To express his idea a new term (人格神) had to be coined. Liang says Mo Tzu thinks of God as personal because he ascribes to him "desires, consciousness, emotions and conduct."[258] Now Mo Tzu uses the term "T'ien." He therefore implies that "T'ien" is the Supreme Personality, and from what has been said it is evident he did not originate this concept. Now Liang states emphatically that Mo Tzu's conception of "T'ien" is entirely dissimilar from that of Lao Tzu and Confucius. The difference would appear to lie mainly in the issue as to whether or not the Supreme Being is a personality. Confucius, however, did speak of "T'ien" in terms of personal qualities. This dissimilarity might also consist in the fact that inasmuch as Mo Tzu was anti-deterministic, he thus thought of the Supreme Being as other than a deterministic entity only: it also seems to lie in Mo Tzu's emphasis on T'ien's "equal love" for men, whereon was based men's obligation to love one another equally.

Brief reference must be made to the relation of the two principal terms for the Supreme Being, "T'ien" and "Shang Ti." I have used them interchangeably. In doing that I am following a widespread,

256. Chinese Recorder, 1894, page 123.

257. Analects, XIV, XXXVII.

258. A Critical Survey of Mo Tzu, Liang, page 46.

ancient and long-continued Chinese practise.[259] Confucianists, as a matter of fact, are not clear as to the significance of the term "T'ien." Lao Tzu (B.C. 604) and Mencius both emphasized primarily its impersonal and universal aspect. Mencius, as we have already noted, apparently making a distinction between "Shang Ti" and "T'ien." The following phrase from Mencius, however, which is a very popular quotation, permits of both the personal and impersonal interpretation of "T'ien." "Those who obey T'ien endure; those who rebel against T'ien perish."[260] Mencius, however, seems to offset his emphasis upon the impersonality of "T'ien" by three times using "Shang Ti," which is everywhere recognized as a personal concept, though I am not sure he identifies the two even though he uses one quotation from the Odes in which the two terms are used interchangeably. In the Analects Confucius does not use "Shang Ti" at all, though he refers to "T'ien" in personal terms. Mo Tzu, spoke of the Supreme Being in more definitely personal terms than either Lao Tzu, Confucius or Mencius. However, most of what I have discovered and put together of Chinese ideas of a *personal* Supreme Being comes from Confucianists. The blending of religious ideas that has gone on in China is strikingly shown in the fact that the ideas of two Taoist priests, one of which has already been mentioned, as to the Supreme Being are in line with what has been and will yet be mentioned of Confucian ideas thereon.

To show, moreover, that "T'ien" and "Shang Ti" mean the same thing to many Chinese a few more points may be noted. The group of schoolboys mentioned above used the two terms interchangeably. The chief Taoist priest of Manchuria said, "T'ien is just Shang Ti." Another Taoist priest in Chefoo with whom I talked personally did not, however, relate the two terms: he was apparently thinking of "T'ien" in terms of natural phenomena only. Many phrases in the Classics which refer to the Supreme Being cannot be understood in other than personal terms. There are also leading Confucianists who directly imply that "T'ien" is personal. K'ang Hsi (A.D. 1655-1723), in a comment on the Book of Odes, says, "Shang Ti is T'ien." He thus makes the personal "Shang Ti" and the sometimes impersonal "T'ien" equivalent. This quotation throws light on another reference to "T'ien" made by K'ang Hsi in the Yuan Chien Lei Han, which is as follows, "T'ien—only one spirit: because he is most honorable he has many titles, just as human monarchs are called kings, emperors, sovereigns, heaven, imperial rule, etc."[261] If the phrase, "T'ien only one spirit," is interpreted in personal terms it means, "T'ien (is) only

259. Chinese Recorder, August, 1919, pages 548-551; The Confucian Civilization, Zia, page 15.

260. Mencius, Book IV, Part I, Chapter VII, 1.

261. For the Chinese text see, Chinese Recorder, 1919, August, page 551.

one spirit;" if in impersonal terms, "(In) T'ien (the ethical universe) is only one spirit." The Chinese to whom I have referred the point tend to take the impersonal interpretation of "T'ien." The fact, however, that the same authority makes "T'ien" equivalent to "Shang Ti," always a personal concept, makes the impersonal interpretation of "T'ien" seem inappropriate in this case. All this is, of course, post-Christian. Chu Hsi, the great commentator on the Chinese classics, who lived more than five hundred years earlier, said the same thing. "Above there is a Lord (who) is T'ien."[262] K'ang Hsi came into close contact with Christians. Chu Hsi, however, did not so far as I know. Furthermore we have noted that Chen Tsai (B.C. 1068) also substituted the term "T'ien" for "Shang Ti." The practise of the substitution of these terms is, therefore, pre-Christian.

It is a fair inference, therefore, from the above statements that Confucianists and Taoists have not among themselves been of one opinion as to whether or not "T'ien" may be understood in terms of personality. Many of them, however, have at times so expressed themselves. Both "T'ien" and "Shang Ti" are credited with moral and personal attributes and activities, all of which imply personality. Thus did the Taoist priest of Manchuria understand Confucius' saying, "If you sin against 'T'ien,' you can find no place for prayer," for he, as we have noted, understood the two terms "T'ien" and "Shang Ti" as referring to one being.[263]

Three other striking instances will serve to indicate that *some* Chinese have thought of the Supreme Being in terms of personality though in neither case did they say directly that he is a person.

Kuan Yin Tzu[264] said, "Heaven and earth did not come of themselves, there was one who made them; just as houses, ships, and vehicles were made by man and did not make themselves."[265] That is essentially the cosmological argument for the existence of a personal creator. It is pre-Christian also.

Passing over probably 2,000 years we come to Anling, a literatus of Shan-shi, who wrote a book (1648?) which might be called in English, "The Clarion." He says, "The Odes say that 'Yoen Yoen Hau T'ien, is called the parent. . . Above there is a ruler who produced heaven (sky), earth, spirits, man and matter.'" Anling calls on men to reverence *first* "T'ien" "who is second to none." Here "T'ien" is recognized as the Supreme One and worthy of human worship.

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262. Analects, Soothill, page 198.

263. Chinese Recorder, 1894, page 129.

264. The work bearing this name was known in the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206—A.D. 23.) Kuan Yin Tzu probably lived about the time of Lao Tze.

265. 天非自天有爲天者地非自地有爲地者譬如屋宇舟車待人而成彼不自成. 明版關尹子, 第七頁第七行.

We may now slip back again to the 12th century and refer to what Chu Hsi said. The quotation from Kuan Yin Tzu contains no term for the Supreme Creator. Anling refers to "T'ien." Chu Hsi mentions "Heaven," "Shang Ti" and "Lord" (主 宰), a distinctly personal term. The literatus Anling used the term "T'ien." The basis of Anling's statement is a theistic term found in the Book of Odes, "Yoen-Yoen-Hao-T'ien" and not listed heretofore because not of frequent occurrence. It is a variation of "T'ien." Anling goes on to say, "This ('T'ien') is indeed not the sky. . . Now to point to the sky and say 'T'ien'[266] is just the same as using the palace to designate the emperor." Anling's ideas are shot through and through with the idea of a Supreme Personality. Like Chu Hsi and K'ang Hsi he is post-Christian. But the fact that Kuan Yin Tzu used a similar argument probably several centuries B.C. invalidates completely any notion that this cosmological argument is due to the influence of Christianity. It is truly indigenous. Chu Hsi's ideas, which are now to be mentioned somewhat further in detail follow the same lines as those of the other two. Anling may have been following Chu Hsi. Chu Hsi is reproducing an idea which we have noted in Kuan Yin Tzu, and somewhat vaguely in Chuang Tzu.[267] Thus the ideas of Chu Hsi and Anling can be found in earlier sources.

Chu Hsi comments on two pre-Christian statements. The one was made by the Duke of Chou, "The Only Great God (惟 皇 上 帝) has conferred on the people a moral sense."[268] On the significance of this statement we have already commented. The other is, "The way of "T'ien" is to bless the good and punish the evil." Mo Tzu carried the idea somewhat further when he advocated that "equal love should mean equal benefit," one of his major emphases. Chu Hsi implies that a superficial observation of natural phenomena might lead one to suspect that a personal ruler did not preside over the universe. That is, physical phenomena alone do not reveal satisfactorily the Supreme Being. Chu Hsi, however, does not seem to accept this view. He says, "But that there is a personal being above us acting in this way is taught by the 'Odes' and 'Records' in such passages, for example, as speak of the wrath of the Supreme Ruler. But still this ruler is none other than Law (Li). . . . In the passage which says, 'The Only Great God has conferred on the people a moral sense,' the word 'confer' (降) conveys the idea of a Ruler (Lord) (主 宰)."[269] There is some disagreement as to whether or not this quotation definitely implies the recognition of a

266. In Chinese the one term is used for both "sky" and "T'ien" as used theistically.
267. Page 93.
268. For the Chinese text see, Chinese Recorder, September, 1919, page 614.
269. Philosophy of Human Nature, Bruce, page 146-147; for the Chinese text see, Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 298: I have slightly varied the translation as given by Bruce.

supreme theistic personality on the part of Chu Hsi. In view of the fact, however, as has already been noted, that Chu Hsi elsewhere recognizes that there is a Ruler (Lord) above, there need be no doubt that this statement is meant theistically. Chu Hsi "transmitted the classics which contain the idea of a personal ruler over all. . . God (T'ien) is presented to us as the Supreme Moral Ruler."[270] Elsewhere he states that all the religions of the world differ in many particulars but agree in this that men should "honor 'T'ien' and love men."[271] Further comment is superfluous.

A number of questions bearing on Chinese ideas of the Supreme Being have at times been put to me that may well be briefly answered here.

The first question is, Does the Chinese emphasis as regards the character of the Supreme Being lie on his justice or on his love? This is a subject that merits a careful and exhaustive study that is impossible here. A few suggestions may, however, be offered.

The Taoist chief priest referred to above spoke of Shang Ti as a loving being. In the interview that I had some years ago with a Taoist priest in Chefoo he also emphasized the love that Shang Ti has for men. Mo Tzu conceived of "equal" love as the will of T'ien. The Confucianists and the popular recognition of the inexorableness of moral law as wielded by T'ien tend to emphasize the aspect of justice. Thus both the idea of the love and that of the justice of the Supreme Being are found in the Chinese mind. While, however, he is often spoken of as just and against evil he does not seem to be conceived of as vengeful. And he seems generally to be thought of as beneficent and moving towards the carrying out of a *moral* purpose. Indeed the idea of an ethical bent in the universe suggests the idea of purpose. In Mo Tzu this purpose is the will embodied in "equal love," which thereby becomes an obligation laid upon men. We may say that when we put together what *some* Chinese have thought about the relation of the Supreme Being to men it is one of moral purpose controlled by love. Perhaps we might say that when the Chinese think of the Supreme Being his justice comes more readily to mind than his love, though both of these aspects of his character are known.

Another question may be stated thus: "Do the Chinese have the sense of the overpoweringness of the Supreme Being as compared with their human inadequacy? Do they realize his "holiness"? I should answer, "They do." But the sense of human sinfulness and unworthiness is perhaps not quite so prominent in their minds as that of the incomparable greatness of the Supreme Being. It is not so much a matter of human self-depreciation as of appreciation of the Supreme

270. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, pages 292-294.
271. Chinese Recorder, May, 1919, page 306.

Being. In the Tu Tuan, an encyclopedia written in the Han Dynasty, (B.C. 206—A.D. 25), Ts'ai Yung the author says, "Of the Supreme One who occupies the place of highest honor, one can only say 'Supreme' (上) and dare not utter his exalted name."[272] This corresponds to the Jewish attitude towards the sacred name "Jehovah." As far as I can ascertain no images of "T'ien" or "Shang Ti" exist. There are, however, images of Yü Huang Shang Ti in connection with Taoism. Twice while in conversation with Chinese anent Chinese theistic ideas I have felt this sense of humility in the presence of the Supreme Being. Once was in connection with a Chinese pastor, a Christian of the first generation. The other instance was that of a Taoist priest in Chefoo. Both used the term "Shang Ti" in speaking of the Supreme Being. The attitude of the pastor might perhaps be assumed to be the result of Christian influence: but that of the Taoist priest cannot. When I asked the Taoist priest why men could not approach "Shang Ti" direct instead of through the spirits, he replied, "Men are too lowly and he is too lofty and majestic for us thus to approach him." He said it, too, with a stooping gesture of reverence. It may be that this sense of the loftiness of the Supreme Being is one explanation of the fact that his worship came to be the prerogative of those in lofty stations in life whose virtue was assumed to correspond with their high functions. Hence the most elaborate worship of the Supreme Being was left to the rulers. But that has now ceased.

Another question is, "Do the Chinese have any idea of human co-operation with the Supreme Being?" The germ of this idea can also be found. The idea that the Supreme Being assists men is fairly prominent, though it is not thought of so much as the result of prayer to him as of the working out of his loving and just attitude. On one of the two occasions when Mencius uses the term "Shang Ti" he does so by quoting from the Book of History to the effect that "T'ien" appointed "rulers and teachers" to assist "Shang Ti." Here "T'ien" is evidently thought of as primary and superior to "Shang Ti." To this the chief Taoist priest of Manchuria also referred. There is a statement also in the "Doctrine of the Mean"[273] where this idea of human co-operation with the Supreme Power, looked on as operating through heaven and earth, is definitely implied. It is also meant to apply to others than rulers. One who is "sincere," we are told, will enjoy the full development of his (ethical) nature. He will thus be able to help other men to enter into the same experience. He will also be able to help develop the (physical) nature of all things. In doing this he will be assisting the "transforming and nourishing powers" operating in heaven and earth. Man is thus looked on as cooperating with and through a nature cor-

272. For the Chinese text see, Chinese Recorder, August, 1919, page 547.
273. Chapter XXII.

responding to that of the Supreme Power. It seems, however, to be assumed that this cooperation with the Supreme Power is the privilege of those only who fully develop their own nature. The writer thus seems to have the sage in mind more than people in general. Christ made it clear that cooperation with God is possible for *all* men.

Still another question needs brief attention, "Do the Chinese worship the Supreme Being outside of the elaborate ceremonies that used to be carried on in Peking?" Though the Supreme Being does not have the first place in worship as carried on by the masses in China, yet he is not altogether neglected. A student in a school of which I was at one time principal told me that his father worshipped "T'ien" every morning. The worship of the many inferior deities is often taken as the worship of "Shang Ti." In the southern part of China non-Christian families light the "T'ien" lamp (T'ien Kong) every sunset. Quite regularly also most households worship "T'ien" at New Year. The Supreme Being either as "T'ien" or "Shang Ti" is also frequently worshipped on the occasion of a wedding. This worship is, of course, very simple. But that it involves reverence as understood by the Chinese goes without saying. That when worshipping, also, there is something worthwhile about the conception of the one worshipped is evident from much that has been said.

I am not here or elsewhere attempting any point-for-point parellelism between Christian and Chinese ideas of God. There does not, however, seem to be any essential difference between Chinese and Christian ideas of the ethical nature of the Supreme Being. The differences seem to be more concerned with the relation of the Supreme Being with human beings. Quite a significant theistic theology might be built up on Chinese ideas about the Supreme Being even though these ideas are not found so completely within the pages of one book or one set of classics as is the case with the Christian religion. Biblical ideas about God are rarely if ever philosophical. Much that we have said comes from outside the religious experience of China's leading thinkers. It involves also the common religious experience of the masses. These Chinese theistic ideas have apparently not been made the special subject of instruction to the masses of the people.[274] The systematization of these Chinese theistic ideas would assist in the setting up of the Christian religion in China. Just as "Shang Ti" has now become the term most commonly used by Christians for God, so many other Chinese theistic ideas could be utilized to make the Christian message more intelligible to the Chinese and at the same time less foreign. Thus instead of claiming, as many Western Christians have felt justified in doing, that Christian ideas about God are all original and practically

274. Chinese Recorder, May, 1920, page 351.

unknown in China, we might say to the Chinese, "We want with you to learn how to know, serve and love God better by doing it in the spirit of Jesus."

Now I wish to recapitulate somewhat and add a few more Chinese ideas of the Supreme Being. There are, as we have seen, two principal terms, both ancient, which refer to the Supreme Being, "T'ien" and "Shang Ti." "T'ien" is often thought of as the impersonal ethical basis of the universe though also often spoken of in personal terms. In meaning T'ien approaches the Hebrew term "Elohim." (Legge). "Shang Ti" corresponds more uniformly to the personalistic terms Jehovah and God. Between these two Hebrew terms there was a period of conflict shown clearly in the five books into which later critics divide the Psalms. The term "Jehovah" won out. In Chinese thought the term "T'ien" came into more common use than "Shang Ti." "T'ien" refers more to the being, supremacy and universality of the Supreme One, than to his relationship with men, which is the main idea in connection with "Shang Ti." With high and lofty concepts of this Supreme Being are at times vaguely connected near-pantheistic notions.[275] But it is only fair to say that Chinese ideas of the Supreme Being seem to have been less crudely anthropomorphic than those in early Hebrew literature. In trying to systematize ideas of God, however, the Christian thinker does not deem it necessary to include always these crude anthropomorphic notions in his own literature It is likewise possible to find a Chinese conception of the Supreme Being that does not necessarily involve the vague suggestions of pantheism found in Chinese literature.

That *some* Chinese had a conception of a personal Supreme Being is indicated, (1) In the use of personal terms in referring to him, (2) In the ascription to him of personal activities: for instance he hears and answers prayer. (3) In the fact that he has psychological attributes such as knowing men, knowing the future and knowing his own mind as over against the minds of men. Here self-direction, self-consciousness and self-existence are implied. (4) In his omnipotence, which while not strongly emphasized is definitely referred to by the Taoist priest and others. This is due to an absence of emphasis upon notions of force in connection with the nature of the Supreme One. Christ also, we recall, said little about the omnipotence of God. (5) In the ethical attributes which are ascribed to him. He is loving, just and impartial. The Taoist priest of Manchuria, referred to, said, "Only man is the subject of the deep love of Shang Ti."

A few more quotations will serve to show that the Chinese ideas of the Supreme Being given above are held by the people as well as the literati. "All things are derived from "T'ien."[276] "All life depends

275. Page 93.
276. Book of Rites, XI, 5:31.

upon T'ien."[277] K'ang Hsi said, "T'ien is the first cause." To these utterances from intellectual leaders may be added two common proverbs. "T'ien nourishes the blind pheasant." "The Heavenly Father (Lao T'ien Ya) does not starve the birds in a blind sparrow's nest." Here in a few lines is indicated a Supreme Being who is high and all sustaining and yet able to sympathize with human frailties.

It is sometimes said that the Chinese have not put together their idea of the Supreme Being and the Father. In reply to this a phrase may be quoted from K'ang Hsi's dictionary which is credited to about A.D. 220-260. "Through the creation sustaining love (仁) of the Heavenly Father (天父)." This phrase, I am told, is often quoted by Chinese preachers. The concept "father," however, is not the one best adapted for use in China to suggest the character of the Supreme Father as the father, together with the teacher and emperor, was expected to hold himself aloof and be reticent.[278] It does not, therefore, easily suggest the idea of intimate relationship with the Supreme Father so prominent in Jesus' thought. The Chinese concept needs a richer content.

It should be noted that the references to Taoist ideas about the Supreme Being contrast strongly with Taoist superstition and practise as ordinarily seen and known. Evidently there are many ideas of worth embedded in the prevailing Taoistic practises and ideals.

A word too should be said about the relation of Buddhistic ideas of the Supreme Being to Christian and Chinese ideas. The Buddhist conception of Chen Zu, or the entity back of the universe whatever the name given, is *ethically* speaking[279] all that one can ask. Many terms are used to designate this entity. But the Buddhist, like the writer of the Tao Te Ching, when he tries to get back of all existing phenomena, endeavors to think in impersonal terms. To the Buddhist both Chinese and Christian anthropomorphism are unfitting. Buddhism, therefore, disagrees with both Chinese and Christian writers who speak of the Supreme Being in personal terms. Vairocana (毗盧佛),[280] however, is a speculative personification of enlightenment. He is Buddha Supreme and Eternal. He bears the same relation to Buddha, so a Buddhist priest once informed me, that God the Father does to Christ. He does not seem to be prominent in the Buddhist pantheon and his temples are comparatively few. When the masses, moreover, think of the Supreme Being, whether as suggested by Buddhists or others, they do so in personal terms. For all practical purposes Buddha, and possibly some other Buddhist worthies, occupy in Buddhist thought the position of "Saviors."

277. Su Ching, X: 5.

278. Analects, XVI, XIII, 5.

279. Chinese Recorder, February, 1924, pages 115-119.

280. Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Doré, Second part, Volume VI, pages 119-123.

Chinese philosophy while, particularly in the Sung school, it speaks in terms of the underlying entity manifesting itself in men and most in good men, does not, so far as I know, speak of any of these good men as being *complete* manifestations of the goodness of the Supreme Being or Entity that is back of all things. Confucius has never been deified in the Christian sense. Gautama comes very near to it. It must, however, be kept in mind that the influence of all China's religious leaders is based on their personality. In Buddhism the attitude to the personality of Buddha and some other deities amounts to worship in a full sense. In Confucianism, however, the attitude to Confucius is more that of reverence or respect. Confucius has never been confounded with "T'ien" or "Shang Ti." It is true that one phrase "P'ei T'ien" (配天) is often translated and quoted as meaning that Confucius is "The equal of T'ien."[281] But the term "equal" conveys more than the term "P'ei" necessarily carries. P'ei means to correspond with or be associated with. The equality in mind is not substantive or even necessarily ethical. It is rather ethical similarity. The virtue of Confucius corresponded to that of T'ien. Elsewhere in this same book[282] those who are *sincere* are also said to correspond to T'ien. In both cases it is a matter of ethical likeness rather than of substantive equality or identity. It was not till 1907 that the Empress Dowager raised the "worship" of Confucius to the same rank as that of Shang Ti. This was done to put him on a par with Christ. It made no real difference to his status in the mind of the people.

One other difference in emphasis on man's relation to the Supreme Being as between Chinese and Christian ideas may be noted here. Christ passed on with approval that well-known phrase "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, all thy mind and all thy soul." This means that men should love God with the same kind of love He shows to them. Thus love between men and God is reciprocal as well as love between men and men. He also, it seems to me, implied that men should love their fellows with the same kind of love shown to God. In China men have often been reminded of the love of the Supreme Being for them. But they have rarely been called on to love the Supreme Being. I have not found in Chinese thought an idea that corresponds to the above as endorsed by Christ. Generally speaking in China people are called on much more to *honor* those above them than to *love* them. So while in China much has been said about men *honoring* God, too little has been said about their *loving* Him.

Much more might be said about Chinese ideas of the Supreme Being. Enough, however, has been put together to show that God has not left Himself without witness in China. This may at least serve

281. Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter XXXI, 4.
282. Chapter XXVI, 5.

as a mind-opener. It is not expected to be more. It introduces another mind-set favorable to the Christian religion. It indicates, therefore, another way whereby the Christian religion may become naturalized in China. The religious experience of China includes much knowledge of God. On this a fuller experience of Him and a more adequate service of God and man may well be built.

SECTION IV. CHRISTIANITY AND CHINA'S SOUL

Chapter 10. Some Christian Offerings

Chapter 11. China's Answer to Christianity

Chapter 12. Will Christianity Survive?

CHAPTER X.

Some Christian Offerings to China

CHRISTIAN offerings to China are contrastable as well as comparable with Chinese cultural and religious ideals. The Christian contribution to China depends somewhat upon this fact. It is not my purpose to deal with these Christian offerings on the basis of the superiority-attitude. Christians do have, however, something additional to offer to China.

For these additional Christian offerings to be understandable to the Chinese they need to be related to what they already have. Only thus can Christians hope to share in lifting the religious life of China on to higher levels. There is a fairly general recognition of the necessity of making Christian worship in China more Chinese in tone and form. This, if it means anything, inevitably involves the synthesizing of some aspects of China's religious experience with Christian aims and ideals. A quotation from Wang Yang Ming, one of China's somewhat neglected philosophers, suggests the appropriate attitude. "People for the most part think that their little corner of experience determines the limits of truth, and in consequence there is no uniformity in the discovery."[283] Dogmatic propaganda usually stirs up an equally dogmatic resistance. To be willing to share, however, with others what one has learned in his own "little corner of experience," recognizing at the same time that other corners of experience may be far from empty, creates a better atmosphere for the transfer of old truth or the discovery of new truth.

One urgent reason for attempting to contrast the Christian offerings to China with what the Chinese have is that there is, both within and without the church in China, much mental vagueness as to just what the Christian Message is. Chinese Christians are often more able to detect the similarities of Chinese and Christian ideas than their contrasts.

This chapter will both refocus some of the things already said and add thereto some other aspects of Chinese thought. Nothing is put forward in a final or conclusive sense. I do not wish to be dogmatic. These various contrasts between Chinese and Christian thought are intended as *mind-holds* for western Christian workers. Nothing more.

There are three lines along which the western Christian Movement has made and may continue to make contributions to the life of China. (1) Cultural transferences. (2) Some Christian human emphases. (3) Some religious differentia. All these Christian offerings are essentially ways of *sharing experience,* cultural, social and religious.

With the exception of a personal relationship to God through Christ, without which one cannot fully be Christian in any sense, it is

283. Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming, Henke, page 96.

recognized that all these Christian offerings may be accepted in part or in whole as Chinese experience and need may indicate. I am inclined to think, however, that outside of denominational exclusiveness and those aspects of these offerings which look like agencies for the transference of economic imperialism, the actuality of which it is not necessary to discuss here, most of these Christian offerings will receive cordial consideration. The Chinese are not so chauvinistic that they will decline these offerings simply because they come from outside China. They are too practical.

By *cultural transferences* I mean those aspects of western civilization Christians offer China which while concomitants of Christianity are not due alone, and sometimes only in small part, to Christian initiative. Most of them, however, are distinct lines of human effort found only in "Christian" countries. Christian participation in their world-wide transference is justified because, (1) of their stimulating effect in helping China readjust herself to world conditions, (2) they interpret western life to China, and (3) are means of the setting up of international understanding and cooperation through the mutual interchange of the various cultures and civilizations. Western Christians should guard against looking on *all* these "cultural transferences" as having attained permanent form even in their own civilization. That is one way to offset racial, political or religious dogmatism.

It is not my intention to discuss these cultural transferences at length. They are all aspects of the migration of westerners into China. Within the last twenty-five years they have become very prominent in connection with the projection of western Christian life into China.

Its *artistic ideals and attitudes* go with any people that moves from one country to another. Greek art has influenced Buddhist art in China and that in turn has influenced Chinese art. The Christian Movement, however, has not to any appreciable extent transferred western art in the form of painting and sculpture to China. But with regards to music, literature and hymnology the situation is quite different. Hymnology is one aspect of western culture that is a distinct addition to China's religious life. Much, also, of modern Chinese thinking has come from the western literature brought into China and taught in Christian schools. The idea of literature for and in the spoken language of the masses is one western contribution to China. In China makers of literature aimed to meet the needs of the literati primarily. The process of making Chinese literature better known to western peoples in turn, however, needs to be pushed much more energetically than has yet been done.

In *organization* also the west is making offerings to China. Western industrial, community, and national organization may help China pass from its loosely knit organization to something more nearly adapted to modern needs. Western industrial organization is developing tremen-

dously in China. It carries with it the seeds of industrial problems not yet settled in the west together with their tentative solutions. Some feel, too, that western political ideas can be of help to China. China has tried some of them. China will, however, probably build up slowly a political organization made up of her own group psychology coupled with some western ideas. That in its religious organization Christianity has an offering of considerable value for China is frequently admitted though the rigidity and complexity of much of it is rightly criticised as making it unadaptable to China's needs. Mr. C. C. Nieh, one time a member of the National Christian Council of China, issued a pamphlet in which he explained his departure from the Christian Church. In this pamphlet he said, "I love Christianity, especially its magnificent organization. This can help improve governments and religions." Whatever, therefore, may happen to many of its forms of organization the *organizing impulse* which comes with Christianity is an offering of considerable significance to China.

It is, however, the Christian transference of *educational ideals and methods* which meets with China's readiest approval. The Chinese ardently believe in education. A Confucian ideal holds that the people must be made willing to do right through education. At present the most scientific attention and the most vigorous thinking in China is being given to the reconstruction of education. China's government educational system is being rebuilt with the aid of western educational experts. Christian schools are criticized because they have projected western control into the education of the Chinese and because their systems have been so foreign that they appear to be denationalizing influences. Nevertheless there is wide-spread appreciation of the Christian educational offering to China. One outstanding significance of Christian schools is that they are centers where international amity and cooperation are *practised* in the spirit of Christ. The inevitable nationalization of education in China will always permit of opportunity for western Christians to share their educational experience with the Chinese.

Last but not the least important in the Chinese mind is the transference of western *scientific knowledge and methods* to China. Artistic, organizational and educational transferences to China will all undergo tremendous modification. Articulate thinkers of China are, however, avid for western scientific knowledge in a practically unchanged form.

It is interesting to note that the Chinese have not usually conceived of matter in terms similar to those prominent in the west. The older western idea of matter is that of something "tangible and perceptible to the senses"[284] and distinct from spirit, a concept which is not, however, defined. Later western scientific thought seems to conceive of

284. Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, page 102.

spontaneous energy, almost vital in nature, as being the basis of "matter." Now the Chinese have not in the past discussed matter in this old sense much, if at all. To them the universe has been something primarily ethical. One phase of their philosophical thought might be defined as ethical naturalism. "Matter," in the older western sense had no ethical significance in and by itself.[285] It was looked on as dead.

Chu Hsi makes a distinction between Chi (氣) and Li (理).[286] These two, however, are inseparable though Chi is usually looked on as subordinate to Li.[287] He seems to conceive of chi as something half-way between spirit and "matter." It is spontaneous, ethical and spiritual rather than material. The Chinese with whom I have discussed the question take Chu Hsi's concept of "chi" as a spiritual rather than a material one. He seems to approach the modern conception of matter though he is perhaps vitalistic rather than energistic. But since the prevailing Chinese idea of the universe is ethical, and the test usually applied by most Chinese philosophers of the past to all aspects of the universe is an ethical one, we may expect that the Chinese in assimilating western scientific ideas will apply their generally prevailing ethical pragmatism thereto. If they do they may escape the gross materialism which has become such a dangerous opponent to spiritual and religious ideals in the west. Some of the younger Chinese thinkers, however, are inclined to look on science as of first importance and as omnipotent in itself.[288] I should, however, anticipate that such would fail to swing Chinese thought away entirely from its rich ethical emphases. It is to be hoped so anyway.

These cultural transferences are not the primary offering of Christianity to China. Frequent references, however, are made to the fact that their economic and cultural significance looms up in the mind of many Chinese much more than the spiritual message of Christianity. In other words the institutional, organizational, economic and academic significance of Christianity tends to throw its spiritual verities into the shade. There is also a subtle danger that the desire to preserve these cultural transferences in their western form may help to obscure further the spiritual verities of Christianity. One charge recently brought against Christianity, perhaps mainly by students, is that it tends to become a movement of cultural exploitation. If motivated and viewed, however, as one means of sharing experience this implication of cultural exploitation would automatically disappear.

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285. See chapter 7.

286. The best recent discussion of this problem is found in Chu Hsi and His Masters, Bruce, pages 100-125.

287. See pages 116, 117.

288. For a summary of more recent Chinese attitudes see, China Christian Year Book, 1926, article on "Philosophical and Religious Thought in China," F. R. Millican, page 423.

There is, however, a different and more important aspect of these cultural transferences. They are the projection of the altruistic aims and motives of the west into China's life. As such they run parallel to and offset western economic and political projections of power and activity into the life of China. They stand, therefore, for the higher aspects of western civilization, and have a special message of their own for China. The west is not interested in China as a commercial and industrial opportunity only. It desires to share its religious experience and social goods as well as its trade. Such transferences are, as said before, the outpourings of a spiritual drive. Western civilization is spiritual as well as materialistic.[289] In some form, therefore, this spiritual drive which issues in the sharing of cultural goods must go on. It is a permanent necessity for the upbuilding of a real family of nations. Such transferences though not primary to it are inseparable from the working of the Christian spirit.

The next group of offerings of Christianity to China is found in some *individual and human emphases* which may be said to be characteristic of Christianity though not exclusively so. These emphases are dynamic-releasing aspects of Christianity. They are life-switches.

It is man's right and obligation to use *fully natural resources for the ends of the spirit.* Buddhism has ignored the *use* of natural resources. Confucianists have tended to use them only in so far as this came naturally and without effort. Taoism has done even less.[290] Christianity presents a spiritual challenge to the full and right use by man of his environment. It is a call to the ethical use of the universe as the only right one.

The *dominant aspects of the relationship of personalities should be their ethical equality.* This it is that gives to personality its intrinsic worth. Human ethical equality has been recognized in Chinese thought.[291] There has to some extent been equality of opportunity in China, especially with regard to education. But social, civic and economic equality have not been adequately considered. Furthermore even ethical equality has not always been looked on as the primary concern in human relationships. For instance take the concept of Shu (恕)[292] the term in which Confucius summarized his teachings. It is variously translated as, "reciprocity," "sympathy," and "consideration for others." It sometimes also means kindness to other people as exemplified in mercy and forgiveness. Shu means Jen (仁) in action.[293] But unfortunately this attitude of mercy and forgiveness was sometimes looked on as

289. See page 7.
290. See page 23, 24.
291. See pages 48-50.
292. Analects, XV, 23.
293. Analects, Soothill, page 746: note on Chapter XXIII.

the special prerogative of superiors. Thus viewed it was an act of condescension on the part of those who could do something other than forgive if they wished. For inferiors, who could do no other than forgive, it often had little meaning. This is certainly not the view held by all Chinese thinkers as our study of Chinese ideas of the Golden Rule showed. There is a tendency to drop the use of the term "benevolence" in the west because it implies an attitude that is not truly democratic. In China the idea that this ethical equality is grounded in a common relationship is also recognized in so far as personalities are looked on as all having the same ethical nature as that of the universe. The ethical value of all individuals is made a primary consideration in Christianity.

One result of the Christian emphasis on the ethical value of each individual is greater scope for the operation of *individual initiative and choice*. For most Christian groups the idea of personal choice is central to the concept of conversion. The modern emphasis is that for the proper development of the spiritual life one needs to be continually making a new choice in each new situation. In the ideals of family life in China that of individual chice is not absent. It tends, however, to be subordinated overmuch to collective decisions. Seniors should be considered, respected and consulted. But they have overmuch weight in deciding issues in China. In China's religious life group psychology seems dominant, though in Buddhism religion is an individual matter. In the current issue as to the place of religious instruction in Christian schools in China two aspects appear. (1) The right of institutions to decide what they shall teach. (2) The right of students to decide what they shall study particularly as applied to religion. In this latter connection the Chinese are pushing the right of the individual in relation to religion in the direction of individual choice. In this they may be overemphasizing something that has been underemphasized in the past. But it is a trend in the right direction. Its implications, however, are not yet fully understood. In any event personal choice is essential to a vital religious experience. To this important aspect of the religious life China needs to pay more attention. The Christian emphasis thereon may help.

Another result of this emphasis on individual choice in religion, and indeed in life in general, is that in Christianity a somewhat more prominent place is given to *self-determination, self-reliance* and *self-renewal*. The importance of self-reliance and self-determination is known to the Chinese. The mastery of self in a return to right principles is a constant note in their thought. The emphasis on group-determination has, however, somewhat offset the realization of these principles. The idea of self-renewal is almost absent, though the place of repentance is recognized. There is also a recognition of a life-movement upwards or downwards from the original good nature. For this the individual is

responsible. Nevertheless the necessity of the renewal of character is a note struck by Christianity that needs more recognition in China.

Christianity also seeks to *develop simultaneously all human capacities.* In China the abstract intelligence has been given freedom to develop. But the development of the social capacity has been largely limited to family and clan life. What might be called the mechanical intelligence has received no particular attention. Here, then, are pedagogical emphases that need more attention in China.

The above are emphases made by Christians which while not generally unknown to the Chinese are, it seems to me, given greater prominence in Christianity. None of them are, however, *fully embodied* in "Christian" civilizations. All of them are ethical stimuli to both East and West to improve on their past. To give such important emphases their proper place in human life is a task worthy of the utmost international cooperative effort.

The third group of Christian offerings to China are made up of its *religious differentia.* Their contrast with Chinese ideas is perhaps greater than that of any yet mentioned. Furthermore they are more distinctly religious in implication than most of those previously mentioned. It is not my intention to attempt a theological statement or a Christian apologia. I am trying as heretofore to compare the *thought systems* known respectively as Chinese and Christian. This comparison must of necessity remain incomplete. It should, therefore, be understood that I do not imply disparagement of any Christian doctrine not specifically included.

Like the Chinese thinkers already mentioned Christians find the roots of their *ethical norm* in the ultimate ground of all things which for most Christians is a personality. In their attempts to apply the Golden Rule Christians make *common human needs* the starting point rather than a limited blood-relationship.[294] In the story of the Good Samaritan, being a neighbor is a matter of helping meet another's needs. Upon this point modern Christians are putting a growing emphasis. The human needs in question are the ordinary and immediate life needs. Christianity does not confine its attention to helping individuals escape from a subjective entanglement in time as Buddhists have done. A large proportion of Christians, however, have done and still do think of helping their neighbors mainly in terms of the preservation of their identity throughout eternity. The cultural transferences which Christians bring to China show that in its larger aspects the modern Christian Movement does not confine itself to this desired and desirable end.

In Christianity the ethical relationship between humans is part of a universal ethical relationship, love between God and man, which is at one and the same time a motivation and a standard for human ethical

294. See pages 106-108.

love. Christ inculcates that men should love their fellows with the same ethical love they should show towards God. Chu Hsi in contrast speaks of honoring God (T'ien) and *loving* men. In Christianity love for God and God's love for men are *reciprocative* attitudes. The reciprocal character of love between men is known to the Chinese. The reciprocity of love between God and men is, however, much more clearly brought out in Christianity when true to its founder. It is Mo Tzu's idea of God's will as "equal love" carried to its logical conclusion.

In Christianity, therefore, when true to its principles the idea of gradation in ethical love as advocated by many Confucianists should disappear. In fairness, however, it must be noted that the idea of gradation in love is also absent from Buddhism and Mohism. It is an ideal that has not always been consistently held by Christians. Tindal, for instance (Circa 1738) asserted that Christ's principle of unlimited love is impractical and fanatical.[295] Some of the earlier missionaries to China stood with Mencius against Mo Tzu in his idea that men should be loved without degrees.[296] These missionaries, like most of the Chinese thinkers, did not distinguish between relational and ethical love.[297] The idea, however, of equality in ethical loving is definitely embodied in the modern world-wide Christian Movement. Furthermore Christianity takes the family relationship of brotherhood, which at one and the same time offers the closest intimacy and is the most disinterested, adds to it the idea of the freer relationship of friendship and makes the idea of brotherly friendliness the mode of universal human relationships. In this way human ethical equality or an equality in intrinsic human worth is recognized. And finally modern Christianity has gone farther in the attempt to make this ethical norm of human relationships world-wide in fact as well as in theory than any other religion. Therein lies the meaning of the world-wide Christian Movement as a demonstration of the Christian ethic. Confucianism has not tried to make its universal ideals work on a world-wide scale. Buddhism had the impulse as well as the ideal but stopped short of anything approaching a world-wide achievement, though in recent years this impulse is reasserting itself.

In Confucianism and Taoism at its best the *Supreme Good* appears to be identification of the self with that underlying ethical "nature" which is the basis of the universe and which is sometimes spoken of in personal terms. Buddhism seems to agree with this but in contrast with Confucianism looks at it more in the light of the future and apparently calls for more complete absorption of the individual in the Supreme Entity: this emphasis is, however, less prominent in Mahayana Buddhism. In Christianity the Supreme Good is a universal relationship,

295. Rise of Modern Religious Ideas, McGiffert, page 304.
296. Chinese Recorder, December, 1905, page 620.
297. See pages 101, 106-109 and 728-729.

a cooperative companionship, of which all other relationships are a part, and through and in which experience and goods are or should be shared, both now and in the future, man with man, man with God and God with man. The true spirit of Christianity is constant individual and social renewal and growth. Already the effect of this particular offering to China is apparent in many modern Chinese efforts which may with justice be traced back to Christian influence though not exclusively so.

The Chinese are well aware of human imperfection. Their growing emphasis, however, on the original goodness of human nature does not lead to as keen a sense of *personal sinfulness* as religiously minded westerners often have. They are also probably somewhat less egoistic than westerners when thinking of their personal misdeeds as in other regards. For many Chinese it is the results of their misdeeds that loom up more than the character that produces them. For the Chinese masses, also, sin is looked at quantitatively rather than qualitatively. Individual deeds tend, therefore, to be viewed from the social rather more than the individual angle. Religion, also, tends to be a contractual arrangement rather than an attitude of cooperative and reciprocal relationships.

Apart from this somewhat general attitude there seem to me to be four prevailing ideas in Chinese thought as to sin or moral evil. I have not come across any clear distinction between natural and moral evil. In view, however, of the fact that the universe is considered as having an ethical basis the idea of moral evil logically becomes more prominent in Chinese thought than any other.

Chinese ideas on moral evil may be summarized as follows:—

(*a*) It is anything not in accord with the original and ultimate Good Nature, both human and universal.

(*b*) It is anything anti-social when viewed, mainly though not exclusively, in the light of family relationships and relational love.

(*c*) It appears when one falls below or goes beyond the normal good of human nature. This idea stands out very clearly in the teachings of Confucius, Chu Hsi and Wang Yang Ming.

(*d*) Its origin is two fold. In Buddhism it is mainly egoistic desire which is a part of the false conception of things as they are. According to Chu Hsi[298] moral evil arises at the point where this original good nature finds expression through "matter" (chi) or the ether.

Now none of these ideas make man specifically responsible for the origin of moral evil though there is no lack of emphasis on man's individual responsibility for developing his own nature or striving against evil. All China's religious systems make this emphasis. The ideals of

298. Appendix, IV.

self-mastery in Confucianism and self-effort in Buddhism and Taoism are based on this idea of individual responsibility.

It seems to me, that in addition to the somewhat prevalent idea of original human depravity, the Christian idea of moral evil differs from the above as follows:—

(*a*) Christianity makes it more clear that moral evil arises in connection with the human will and motives. Buddhism finds the root of evil in the human heart. The Chart of Ethics,[299] which is somewhat Buddhistic as well as Confucian, also has much to say about the heart. Motives, furthermore, are not overlooked. In keeping the rites, says the Sacred Edict, the respect shown must come from the heart.[300] The constant Chinese emphasis on sincerity also implies that motives are important. The "Rules of the Disciples" make a distinction between intentional and unintentional evil.[301] "Good done that men may see it is not true good."[302] A sin thought of, according to the "Tenets of Taoism," even though not committed is seen by the gods.[303] But even though motives are far from being overlooked they do not seem to be given as prominent a place in Chinese thought as in that of Christ. The human will, furthermore, as a cause of moral evil receives much less attention.

Then again according to Christian ideas moral evil arises whenever we treat others as of less than of equal intrinsic value than ourselves. Thus sin, looked at from the human side, is a process of depersonalization. To offset this is one motive in the modern effort to reform industrial conditions. Looked at from this angle the notion of racial superiority is a sin also.

Sin also occurs whenever we use men or the material or instruments of life for less than the highest known purpose. And since Christ always looked at men from the viewpoint of their relation to God as well as to other men, sin is an act against God as well as men. Confucius hinted at this when he spoke of one who sinned against T'ien as having no one left to whom he could pray.

Confucianism seems to think of *salvation* as the *full* release of man's inherent ethical nature in present and personal relationships. It is a valuable concept. It accords somewhat with modern Christian emphases. Buddhism considers salvation as release from the entanglement of illusory relationships in time. One aspect of Christian thought is to the effect that salvation consists in the restoration of what was

299. See page 9.
300. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Wieger, page 101.
301. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Wieger, page 230.
302. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Wieger, page 239.
303. Moral Tenets and Customs in China, Wieger, page 285.

lost when original human nature was spoiled by sin. This agrees somewhat with the idea of Shün Tsz (died B.C. 235). Those Christians, however, who hold the view of original human depravity have not as he did posited covetousness as the *only* cause of moral evil. One prevailing Christian idea has been that both matter and human nature are inherently evil. The humanists in Christianity have, it is true, held the opposite view. But this humanistic idea has not been the prevailing one in Christianity though it constantly bobs up. On the state of original human nature Chinese thinkers have differed somewhat.[304] The prevailing Chinese idea, however, as advocated by Mencius is that it is good. One modern Christian emphasis agrees with that of Kau Tsz, a contemporary of Mencius, who thought of human nature in terms of potentiality. Christianity has always laid great stress on the necessity for a change in character as basic in salvation. Chinese religious ideas include the necessity of growth in character. Little is said, however, about an initial change, or a voluntary choice of a life direction primarily in view of one's relation to God. The original nature of the universe is, of course, manifested in individual lives. The prevailing Chinese idea has been that man shares the nature of the ethical universe. Where this ethical nature is viewed as personal or vital it means that the nature of the Ultimate Entity may be shared by man. In place of this inherent ethical nature, however, Christianity definitely puts God whose life and nature may be experienced and shared of all men. To the Christian, moreover, the chief factor in religion (for most Christians at least) is conscious self-appropriation of God through Christ. This is the heart of faith.

Christians also think of salvation in terms of a developing experience through conscious cooperation and communion between God and man. This is the "cooperative companionship" already mentioned. The personal realization of this possibility of human cooperation with God transforms one's attitude towards and outlook upon life. The thought of a deliberately chosen cooperation between man and God is not prominent in Chinese thought, though the possibility is not overlooked.[305] This, it seems to me, is the core of the Christian dynamic.

In Confucianism self-effort as a factor in salvation moves mainly along the line of learning what is the proper mode of self-expression. In Buddhism it centres on ethical improvement. In Taoism the aim is to overcome the material elements in the human make-up. In Christianity, however, this human self-effort is definitely displaced by a cooperative union between the human and the divine, though this idea is not entirely absent from either of the three systems mentioned above. This union brings (or should bring) the enlightenment for which the

304. Appendix, III.
305. See page 125.

Buddhist seeks and makes the ethical striving found in Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism more hopeful because of the added spiritual forces that may be released into human lives.

It is, therefore, in connection with *man's relation to God* that Christianity can make its most distinctive and most valuable contribution to the religious life of China. China has no book like the Bible. In it the consideration of man himself is subordinated to his relation to God, though the two cannot be separated. China has not, so far as I know, any code of laws which puts loving God first. In general the emphasis of Chinese thought is humanistic rather than theistic.

The chief differences between Chinese and Christian thought as to God seem to me to be as follows:—

Man's relation to God is declared to be the *central* fact in individual and social life.

God's nature, by this I understand primarily his ethical nature, is more fully manifested through Christ than elsewhere or in any other person. Buddhism is not consistent with itself as to the incarnation of the Supreme Entity in human lives. Confucianism, so far as I know, does not talk explicitly in terms of incarnation. No sage is conceived of as being a perfect or complete embodiment of this good nature as Christ is thought of as revealing the nature of God.

In the possibility of *conscious* human cooperation with the *one* God Christianity finds the most unifying and satisfying influence for the religious life. In Buddhism this is known but not emphasized. In Confucianism it is only hinted at. It is a clear and central note in Christianity.

The Christian idea of cooperative companionship with God is at one and the same time a *stimulant* to the putting forth of the maximum human ethical effort and an assurance that such effort cannot fail. For this reason Christianity is essentially optimistic. Religion is not a matter of having the Higher Powers do things for us or to us but of cooperation with the Supreme Being.

Christianity teaches two ways of realizing God. (1) Directly through one's own personal experience. Here it runs parallel to Buddhism. However, unlike the deeper phases of Buddhism Christians usually think of this experience as an *interchange between personalities.* Only a small minority of men can experience God in terms of an impersonal vastness alone. (2) Indirectly through the experience of others. This is the basis of Christian fellowship. The Christian emphasis has perhaps been mainly on the first. Over-emphasis on individual experience, however, may lead to religious individualism, which is one weakness of Buddhism and Protestantism. Men need to put together their individual experience of God with that of others. Only thus can men get a balanced idea of their relation to God. The experience of

God must be mutual or social as well as individual. Herein is a basis for the idea that there is something in China's past religious life or experience of God that may help enrich that from the west. This is probably why some Chinese Christians claim that the Classics may have a devotional value.

Let us remember that Chinese ideas of the Supreme Being, as I have outlined them, are the product of China's experience. Those of most western Christians in China are not original with the Anglo-Saxons. They are a synthesis of Hebrew, Greek and Anglo-Saxon experience.

I have said that Christianity is unified as to the object of the religious attitude but disunified as to ways of worshipping and defining him. Yet the Christian philosophy is essentially a *synthesizing religious* philosophy. For the Christian religion means (or should mean) the unification of the individual, of social life and the unification of both with the cosmos and its Creator. This unification goes on through a universalizing relationship between men and God which is in essence the ethical unification of man and God. Faith is essentially the personal appropriation and realization of this unification. The Buddhist idea of faith as found in some sects approaches this idea.[306] The Chinese idea is essentially one of the ethical union of man with the ethical nature of the universe. The personalization of this relationship is only lightly emphasized. This Christian philosophy fits in with the Chinese emphasis on the harmonization of all relationships.

Again this unifying philosophy associates and aims to put together the ethical potentiality of all individuals with that of all others with a view to securing social energy sufficient to make society correspond to the highest ideals. This unified social energy when in cooperation with God is the Christian dynamic.

This unifying philosophy also combines the ethical potentiality of man with the ethical omnipotence of God for the mastery and right use of the physical environment. Only cooperation between the created and the creator can achieve this. Religiously man must learn to work with the Supreme Being as scientifically he learns to work with ultimate, spontaneous energy. The Chinese masses have filled the environment with a host of spirits some of which are friendly but many of which have to be placated. They need to learn that God meant men to master their world not only crawl through it. This Christian philosophy therefore, removes the fear that the environment is essentially hostile to man or that it of necessity thwarts the ends of the spirit. It is the basis of the call for an *ethical mastery* of the material universe. Thus religion and science can move forward together.

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306. Appendix, V.

Most of the above may be summarized in one very important aspect of the Christian religion. It presents to human loyalty *one central personality,* Jesus Christ. Socially he is the supreme challenge to ethical effort. Every fresh study of this personality results in a re-stimulation of religious and social experience and effort. In this the dynamic of Christianity is more clearly shown than at any other point. In him, also is provided a demonstration of the ethical potentialities of men. The actual as over against the theoretical urge of this dynamic is in the world-wide efforts of Christians to attain to his likeness and make his principles work. This is a practical demonstration of the Christian dynamic. Religiously, Christ is presented as the supreme manifestation of the ethical character and wisdom of God. In him, also, are combined the ethical potentialities of man and the ethical omnipotence of God. Thus do we realize that the ethical omnipotence of the Supreme Being may be released through human potentialities. Men may be one with God as Christ was. The realization of this frees men from the fear of their human inadequacy and when this union takes place frees them also from the dragging weight of their violations of human ethical responsibility and potentiality. In other words effects of moral acts that cannot be undone or overcome by human striving alone can be both undone and overcome through this union of the human and the divine. In him, furthermore, as has recently been said,[307] the historical founder of the religion and its divine Savior are completely identified. In this regard Chinese religions and the Christian religion differ materially.[308] Furthermore Christ is not only the object of faith he is also the goal of faithful endeavor. This is to some extent true of Buddha also. It is, however, an idea less prominent in connection with other religious leaders in China. To be like Christ is Christianity's outstanding challenge to human loyalty. These emphases are the core of the synthesizing philosophy of Christianity.

The world-wide ethical demonstration of the missionary movement must be judged more by its significance as an effort than by its actual achievements. Christianity is not a system of finished solutions to all the problems of life though it does not seem possible to find a more dynamic idea for human life than that of its cooperative union with the divine. Christianity is, broadly speaking, a ceaseless effort to find solutions. Christians, moreover, have made a more extensive effort to articulate interracial sympathy and loving than the adherents of any other religion. This, next to its religious offerings, is its chief significance.

China's religious life is disunified as to the number of objects of worship, their definition and the ways of worshipping them. Variation in ways of worship matters no more in the case of China's religious

307. International Review of Missions, Heinrich, October, 1926, page 641.
308. See page 11.

life than in that of the west. But the multitude of its objects of worship does, even though the three chief religious systems maintain now a tolerant attitude towards each other. The worship of God, for instance, tends to be submerged in that of a multitude of gods. China needs more unification in its religious life. The joining of ethical and religious aims and ideals in the one personality in the Christian religion is, therefore, an offering of great significance to China.

What, then, are the two chief principles or characteristics of Christianity, which are at one and the same time the main aspects of the religion Christ set up and the heart of Christianity? First, it is a way of cooperative companionship with God. To enter into that way is to be saved. Second, it is a way of loving. To walk upon this way is to strive to unite the will of God with the daily ways of men.

One is sometimes asked, What do the Chinese deem the most significant aspect of the Christian religion to be? The answer is fairly easy. "The dynamic personality of Jesus." They yield to this personality without stopping to define him. Who ever does stop to define a personality with whom he falls in love? This approach falls in with the Chinese emphasis on personalities. To them, therefore, Christianity tends to be the philosophy of spiritual realities as summed up in personal experience of a Supreme Personality in and through personal relationships. Christianity as a system of ideas has come under severe criticism in China. Little of this criticism has been aimed at Christ. When therefore the question is asked, "What can Christianity give to China?" the most characteristic and significant reply is "Christ." The chief thing asked of missionaries also is that they *live* Christ.

CHAPTER XI.

China's Answer to Christianity

CHINA has in the past answered Christian propaganda several times and in varying ways. The keynote of a particular answer indicated the outstanding Christian problem of the hour. The controversies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, over the attitude of Christians to Confucian ceremonies and the proper term for God, involved a clash between a sovereign religious power projected into China and that of the sovereign political power in China. The political power of China answered by proscribing Christianity. This answer was official. The people followed suit with a vigorous persecution of Christians. In the early days of the modern Christian Movement in China, China's answer was couched mainly in terms of the superstitious suspicion of the people and the conservatism of local officials. The answer was, therefore, one of obstructive tactics. In 1900, popular superstition and dynastic fear framed an answer in terms of attempted expulsion, which was both official and popular.

What answer to Christianity has China made during the revolutionary period commencing in 1911? Understanding thereof is essential to outlining the future Christian task in China.

Popular superstitious resentment is now decidedly in abeyance. Indeed the backbone of superstition as a guiding influence in China has been badly twisted. It is not dead, but for Christians it is a waning factor. In this period, furthermore, there is little governmental aggressiveness against Christianity as such. Both southern and northern governments have recognized the constitutional trend towards religious liberty, though their interpretations thereof are far from being crystallized. Governmental action anent Christian schools has been considerably milder than radical popular groups desired. China's present answer to Christianity is a more widespread and popular one than any ever made before. It has, therefore, greater significance. In general this modern answer is made up of nationalistic aspirations, intellectual scrutiny and a returning tide of China's religious experience. In essence it is the answer of China's mind, the response of China's soul. Some of its many facets are extreme. It fluctuates in emphasis also. Uncertainty about the meaning of Christianity is one outstanding aspect. Nevertheless the intellectual and spiritual movement now focused upon Christianity in China will go on and grow. It must be reckoned with. The Christian Movement can neither ignore it or be unaffected by it. The outcome is hidden. But that it is a step in the process of welding the Christian faith into the religious experience of China none can doubt. It is an inevitable phase of the naturalization of Christianity in China.

This modern answer of China to Christianity is, then, a *new* one. It has two main aspects. (1) That made by China's modernized intelligentsia. (2) That arising in China's historical experience. These overlap to some extent. Both are aspects of this revolutionary period. Chronologically their order should be reversed. The modern movement in Buddhism and the first eclectic movement, both of which belong under the second classification, appeared about 1911. The anti-Christian movement, however, which belongs under the first classification, did not become articulate until 1922. Nevertheless psychologically the order is correct. The movements within indigenous systems of thought and the eclectic religious movements stand out much less prominently in the present Christian mind than the vigorous criticism of the smaller group, numerically speaking, of modernized intelligentsia. But both are part of one response to a situation created by the presence of Christianity. Both are, also, the effect of the western impact upon China of which Christianity is one aspect. The religious movements are not very vociferous, and are submerged in the life of the mass. They are an undertow rather than a visible tidal wave yet they have a real influence. Missionaries constitute only about five per cent of western aliens in China. Nevertheless the work of which they are a part is receiving the full force of China's reaction against the western impact upon it. To summarize and, to some extent, to interpret China's modern answer to Christianity is the purpose of this chapter. The main sources for this summary are given in a special list.[309] The rest comes from personal observance and experience.

The answer of China's modernized intelligentsia heads up in the anti-Christian Movement. This is its critical aspect. At first it was almost exclusively a student movement. Later it became more generally anti-religious and included some of the more mature literati. It became articulate in 1922. An article in the Y. M. C. A. magazine *Progress* set forth the plans for the World's Student Christian Federation held in Peking in April of the same year. In response thereto a student society in Shanghai issued a manifesto against Christianity. Attention was focused on its growing strength and significance. The criticism to which the Y. M. C. A. was then subjected has continued with varying intensity ever since, even though that is a Chinese controlled organization. This indicates that it is not exclusively a nationalistic movement. It was and is rationalistic as well. Another factor which drew attention to the Christian Movement was the publication of the Survey volume, "The Christian Occupation of China," and the meeting of the National Christian Council which also took place in May of the same year. The actual strength and the inclusiveness of the program of the Christian Movement were made available to the general public for the

309. Appendix VII.

first time. The Report of the China Educational Commission, also published in 1922, made possible an understanding of the scope and program of Christian schools in China. Quotations by anti-Christian leaders from this report seem to have been more in evidence than those from any of the others.

This movement is mainly intellectual. Proof thereof is found in the study of Christianity carried on by some of its leaders. The Anti-Christian Federation studied Christian institutions. Many of the criticisms published have been based on such study. Near the end of 1924 there was published in The Republican Daily News an outline of Protestant Missions up to that year. At about the same time several newspapers in different sections of the country issued separate weekly supplements for the special purpose of attacking Christianity and a book was advertised which gave "talking points" against it. Christmas week was set apart as a special time for anti-Christian propaganda. This proved abortive in many cases. In others it developed seriously. It is still a part of the anti-Christian program. Critical articles which have appeared show evidences of considerable study of original Christian sources and rationalistic western literature. In general, however, the movement has been negative and destructive though it did develop a very aggressive policy anent Christian schools.

The chief object of attack of the anti-Christian movement was, in fact, the Christian school. These were charged with being denationalizing. This aspect of the movement has been rather more nationalistic than rationalistic. Christian doctrine also came under scorching criticism. But the Church did not receive the main brunt of the attack though like other Christian institutions it was dubbed "imperialistic" and the "vanguard of western capitalism and political ambition." The Church, as a matter of fact, was attacked more because of its conjunction with objectionable treaties and aspects of western civilization than for any inherent characteristic. However, religion in general and Christianity in particular were criticized as being both unscientific and unsocial. It should be noted that superstition in general also came in for attack. A fear of cultural exploitation also emerged. This explains in part the decided shift that took place in this revolutionary period from an emphasis on western education and culture to that on Chinese culture and a sinafied educational system. The intellectual leaders, however, tended to apply to Chinese cultural heritage the same critical scrutiny directed against Christianity. The critical attack on Christianity is only one aspect of a critical revaluation of everything. The answer of China's modernized intelligentsia to Christianity was also in large measure a resurgence of China's cultural consciousness. In this critical movement rationalistic approaches of the West were also utilized. On the one hand Chinese rationalism, which had subjected religious

experience to a subordinate place in the mind of many literates, joined hands with western science, somewhat materialistically emphasized. On the other hand western rationalism has to some extent been reproduced in these modernized Chinese intelligentsia. The confluence of these two rationalistic streams banked the tide of feeling against religion. The nationalistic awakening pushed this critical tide still higher. A large proportion, however, of these ardent critics of religion were motivated by the desire for truth; some acted on less worthy motives. On its higher and clearer levels this critical movement is a search for truth. This is an emphasis that can be traced back through Confucianism to Confucius. Herein lies a challenge to Christians to show that they also are first of all seekers for the truth. A movement that criticises the ideas of China as well as those imported is not, however, simply and only chauvinistic.

The extremists in this movement of China's modernized intelligentsia have not had things all their own way. Their notions have not always been swallowed blindly. Governmental authorities have usually modified their demands. Government mandates may not be very effective. Nevertheless in the early part of 1926 the Peking Government issued a mandate advocating "freedom of belief" and prohibiting anti-religious activities. This mandate gave voice to one aspect of public opinion. But long before that it was evident that the extremists did not control the roost. In March, 1922, five professors in the National University issued a document urging religious toleration in accordance with the constitution. This constitutional provision itself is one aspect of China's answer to Christianity. It indicates approval of one of its fundamental emphases, religious liberty. At about the same time a few prominent non-Christians publicly recognized that religion is a necessary factor in social and individual life. All these are hints of liberal and tolerant tendencies.

Chinese Christians, including many leaders, have, it is true, for the first time faced questions about their religion they could not answer. This mental uncertainty about the meaning of the Christian religion has become a prominent retarding influence in their spiritual life. Yet some non-Christians, together with many Christians, have been able to clarify their belief in Christianity as necessary to the life of China. This renaissance of criticism has, therefore, acted as a mental and spiritual stimulant. Chinese Christians are beginning to think more deeply about their faith. This is a sign of and step in growth. The Christian religion as a whole, furthermore, has never been so prominent in the mind of China as during this revolutionary period. Appreciations of its worthwhileness have to some extent offset the criticisms. The widespread way in which attention has been focused on religion is opening out before Christians the greatest opportunity they have ever had even though this stream of criticism is forcing a thorough overhauling

of methods. Awakened and critical minds offer much more fertile soil to the religious message—any message!—than those dozing or quiescent or moved solely by personal advantage or surface motives.

The critical answer of China's modernized intelligentsia is disconcerting and distracting. Nevertheless it is opening a new door. It is the challenge of an awakened soul. Christianity may no longer deal only with individuals. It must deal with the mind of China also. This awakened mind is critical because the mind of China's intellectual leaders has always been critical. It was this critical disposition that produced men like Confucius, Mencius, Chu Hsi and Wang Yang Ming. Likewise this new period of critical groping will bring forward defenders of the Christian faith, who have heretofore been only half-awake. For this conditions are ripe in China for the first time.

The mind of China's modernized intelligentsia, therefore, is not the whole mind of China. Their immemorial prestige as students gives them an easy headway. Numerically, however, they are weak. Being in the privileged vanguard many of them have overlooked the rearguard. Theirs is a modernized approach. China's historical experience, however, is far from ready for a funeral ceremony. More people are directly concerned in China's reviving indigenous systems of thought and the eclectic movements than directly in the anti-Christian Movement. There is thus a religious renaissance which runs parallel to the intellectual renaissance. China's modernized intelligentsia are not a unit against religion. Those connected with the revivals in indigenous systems of thought and the eclectic societies are, with the exception of the rationalistic Confucian wing, all in favor of religion in some aspect. None of these latter movements are, it is true, purely atavistic. They are registering deep changes in thought. Nevertheless parallel to the *modern* intellectual movement is a popular movement which tends, among other things, to dig out anew the best of China's ancient heritage. It is a reblossoming of China's deeper intellectual and religious experience. This latter movement is putting together the old and the new and not clamoring only for the new and the purely rationalistic. It should not be forgotten that whatever the shortcomings of Confucianism and Buddhism, they are essentially systems of attitudes towards ultimates. Modern science and pragmatism tend to concern themselves with proximates. The laws of psychology, which are not yet very well understood, are as lasting as those of "matter" so-called. The Chinese like other peoples will weld into their future the best of their past. Christianity must face this law. These resurgences of China's deeper intellectual and religious experience fluctuate in intensity. They are not very critical. In this regard they will have to reckon with the critical scientific attitude of China's modernized intelligentsia. But though somewhat overlooked they are not dead. Among these resurging movements I do not include Taoism.

In its deteriorated form it seems to be content to die, though the most popular of the eclectic movements, the Tao Yuan, gives Lao Tzu the chief place, and one or two others pay special attention to its scriptures.

The status of Confucianism has changed. But it is far from being dead. The last dynastic attempt to retain its privileges was made by the Empress Dowager in 1907 when she deified Confucius in order to place him on a par with Christ. Nevertheless Confucianism was shorn of its special prestige and privileges between 1912 and 1916. Effort was made to retain these privileges as over against the religious liberty ideal embodied in the provisional constitution of 1912. The first effort aimed to have Confucianism adopted as the state religion. Next sanction was sought for Confucianism as the basis of moral education. On October 10, 1923, the permanent constitution was promulgated. It contains this clause, "Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty to honor Confucius and to believe in any religion." This special constitutional reference to Confucianism was a final defensive measure. It aimed to continue public recognition of Confucianism, though not necessarily as a religion. Indirectly it accords to Confucianism the primacy of public attention. But it involves a definite yielding to the principle of religious liberty. Thus the political and autocratic significance of Confucianism has vanished and its religious significance also has considerably dwindled.

As a system of ethical culture with religious implications, however, the influence of Confucianism has gone up rather than down. There is no generally accepted neo-Confucian movement. In two directions, however, earnest attempts have been made to revive it. These attempts include first critical study, and second, some emphasis on its spiritual significance. Third, in connection with both of the above emphases, Confucian is a prominent feature of all the eclectic religious movements and in some of them the predominant one.

The influence of the National University at Peking is perhaps greatest in connection with its efforts in sinological research. This institution has a post-graduate school of sinology with a special research committee. Confucianism shares in this revival of academic interest and effort.

In Peking a Confucian Church was organized which had a creed of five articles, secured the establishment of Confucius' birthday as a national holiday, and opened branches in provincial capitals and hsien cities. These local branches were to keep Confucian temples in repair and see that the spring and autumn sacrifices were regularly made. These plans for local associations failed to a considerable extent; many of them soon dwindled into non-entities. Likewise plans for an immense headquarters in Peking to cost Mexican $2,000,000 did not materialize. The educational work at this headquarters has, however, gone ahead. The province of Shansi experienced a deep Confucian revival through

the society for "The Purification of the Heart." This society, which originated in Taiyuan, carried on an active propaganda by means of literature and lectures.[310] Its principle of reform was phrased as follows:—"The source of political reform is in the individual and, as to the individual in his heart." That is a synthesis of Buddhistic and Confucian emphases. Those connected with this society did succeed in keeping Confucian temples in repair. Temple halls and courts were used for "modern educational enterprises with libraries, reading rooms and educational exhibits." Increased public attention has also been given to Confucianism through lectures by prominent literati. In some cases these lectures were immensely popular.

Confucianism lost its fight with the principle of religious liberty. Furthermore some of its modern methods are clearly taken over from the Christians. Nevertheless there is going on a serious reconsideration of its elemental values. It is being reconstructed. This reconsideration of its own values is the gist of the answer of Confucianism to Christianity.

Buddhism comes next. It has been in China so long and has dug into China's life so deeply that it is *now indigenous.* It is a real part of China's life. This point is sometimes overlooked. If a religious system does not become indigenous in two milleniums, when does it? Confucianism is being subjected to a critical and selective scrutiny. It is being pruned. Buddhism in contrast is going through a process of a reversal of policies. Its essential values are not affected by the modern pruning knife. It is trying to express its fundamental ideas in new ways.

Buddhism has always called for retirement from the world as the best way to experience reality. T'ai Hsü, head of the Wuchang Buddhist College, reversed this ideal when he gave up his plans to retire into meditation and took up a more or less active propagandic and teaching role in public.

In a general sense Buddhism has never had a social program. Now it is both modernizing and socializing its program. The Convention of Buddhists in Eastern Asia, held in Tokyo, November, 1925, definitely included a social program considerably in advance of anything before attempted.[311] This movement towards socialization is well exemplified in the work of the Hankow Buddhist Church. About two years ago the program of this church included schools, hospitals, factories, lectures and libraries. The first issue of the "Sound of the Tide" promulgated a scheme calling for seven large monasteries, propaganda bureaux, benevolence associations, orphanages, lecture bureaux, public departments and a system of schools heading up in a college. The Nan-

310. China Mission Year Book, 1924, page 59.
311. Chinese Recorder, December, 1925, page 840.

king Buddhist Seminary declared that its aim is to expound the Dharma-law—to train men to *benefit the world,* not to train scholars to benefit themselves.

Outside of what was offered in monasteries Buddhism does not seem to have formerly accepted any responsibility for sharing in general education. Such education is now part of its program. Like that of the Christians its educational aim is mainly propagandic. Institutes for the clerical members were planned for every large monastery. This was part of the program for reforming the priesthood. Its early and extensive plans along educational lines have not fully materialized. Much has, however, been done. Within five years six large institutions were started with courses adapted to government requirements; these included scientific as well as Buddhistic subjects, among them being music, English, sanscrit and physical education. Monasteries, like Confucian temples, have been widely used for school purposes.[312]

Buddhism, also, heretofore has not carried on propaganda in the active, agressive western style. It has been a religion of practise and symbolism rather than direct propaganda. But one outstanding feature of modern Buddhism is its aggressive propaganda. Much of this has been carried on by the laity In many places meetings are held where Buddhist scriptures are explained by the clergy. Much time and effort has gone into public lectures. A few years since long series of lectures were given in twenty-six centers. Its most noticeable propagandic activity is the preparation and distribution of Buddhist literature. To this the modern revival is sometimes attributed. There were, a short time since, five centers for this propagandic distribution of literature in Shanghai. Most provinces have them. One instance of lay activity in this connection is worth special notice. One Yang Jen-san is credited with the initiation of these centers for distributing literature and the organization of Buddhist societies. He himself distributed 1,000,000 copies of Buddhist scriptures and 100,000 pictures of Buddha. Much of this program also has failed to materialize. Nevertheless Buddhism has a new program. It is reasserting its long-submerged aspiration to be a world religious influence.

Buddhism has had a freer hand during this revolutionary period than Confucianism. It has little or no conflict with the principle of religious liberty. The new constitution has, therefore, worked in its favor. This modern Buddhist movement is a sincere search for a deeper spiritual experience. Generally it lays emphasis on spiritual values. To this emphasis many Chinese have responded. One aspect of this modern movement is an increase in the number of educated young men entering Buddhism. Withal it is consciously *challenging* Christianity. There is a definite and strong *Buddhist conviction.* Nevertheless

312. The Chinese Church, 1922, page 152.

it is inclusively tolerant. It finds, therefore, no difficulty in utilizing western terms, concepts and philosophy to set forth Buddhistic tenets. One magazine announced editorially its willingness to "take in all currents of thought both expressed and practised by any human race in any locality on the globe and to compare them with Buddhism from an unbiassed viewpoint." It is willing, to some extent, to enter into conference with other systems of thought. This fits in with the scientific temper of China's modernized intelligentsia. It is propagandic without being intolerant. It has a Buddhistic-centric broadmindedness. This constitutes a flank movement against Christianity. It is clearly religious. It is another aspect of China's answer to Christianity. It has widespread popular sympathy which the extreme wing of China's modern intelligentsia will not be able to countermine successfully. It is a movement of China's soul.

Since religion in China, particularly the Buddhistic, has often been subject to repressive efforts it has tended to develop in subterranean channels through secret and vegetarian sects. Vegetarians have been especially responsive to Christianity.[313] Another movement is, to some extent, taking the place of these sects. It is not secret though occasionally some of these new societies have secret rites, signs and degrees. These new societies are generally referred to as the "Eclectic Religious Movement." In part they are a nationalistic reaction against the western undervaluation or ignoring of China's spiritual and ethical culture, an attitude which unfortunately is charged up against the past history of Christianity in China. They are also the logical result of China's agelong and growing inclusive tolerance towards differing religious and philosophical systems. They are born of the blending process which has characterized China's cultural and religious life.[314] It is a movement of inclusive religious toleration in contrast to that of religious exclusionism. This psychology provides the soil in which the principles of religious living can find rooting space. It explains also why denominational exclusiveness does not readily take root in China. Like the Buddhist reform movement these societies generally embody a search for a deeper spiritual experience, which is often mixed with crude and sometimes superstitious elements. Here is where their lack of scientific scrutiny becomes evident. These movements are a protest, in which the Buddhists share, against the materialistic note apparently dominant in the western impact upon China and prominent in the attitude of China's modernized intelligentsia. They are also a reaction against the religious and rationalistic formalism which marks Chinese civilization as it has developed in more recent centuries. They are another aspect of China's modern answer to Christianity.

313. The Chinese Church, 1922, page 153.
314. Page 35.

These minor religious philosophical groupings are quite extensive. The later ones are more widely influential than the earlier ones. A few years ago there were seven in Peking and six in Chengtu, to refer to two cities by way of illustration. In 1924 ten were known. Their real numerical strength is unknown. Probably the strongest numerically is the Tao Yuan. This society has grown very rapidly. It was started in 1921. In 1923 it had branches in thirteen cities. In 1925 these branches had grown to 118, a growth in two years of about 800%! In 1924 the Tao Yuan had, in Tsinan the city of its origin, 3,000 members as over against 4,500 "followers" in all the Christian churches of the city. These religious movements, as part of China's answer to Christianity, divide readily into three levels of aim and thought. (1) Those which concern themselves exclusively with China's indigenous religious and ethical culture. (2) Those which are apocalyptic with an appeal aimed mainly at credulity. (3) Those which are mainly eclectic. As a matter of fact the two latter divisions overlap. Both groups are essentially eclectic. These societies which are eclectic in nature are the most in vogue. These societies will be dealt with only cursorily. Detailed study is possible through the references given.*

On the first level are those societies which emphasize only indigenous intellectual and religious culture. One of the oldest is the Tong Shan She. This is a religious and philanthropic society. Its activities and emphases vary in different centers. It has elaborate rites and ceremonies and permits idol worship. In West China this society laid stress upon contemplation as the source of light. In Tsaoshih, Hupeh, it aimed to fuse Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. The Hankow society is composed mainly of Buddhist devotees and promotes Buddhism. The branch at Pingkiang, Hunan, seemed to be somewhat political. It seems thus to lack a unifying aim though it has branches in nearly every province, city and district. Its name stresses the idea of universal goodness.

The roots of The Four Principles' Society go back to the beginnings of the Tsing Dynasty though it was not organized until 1921. These four principles are those of man, nature, learning and government. They were first formulated by Yen Hsi-chai.[315] Ex-president Hsu Shih-chang was its first officer and head. It has a strictly indigenous emphasis.

The Society for Purifying the Heart is primarily Confucian and part of the attempt to reinstate Confucianism. Its main principles and activities have already been cited.

In Chengtu, Szechwan, two other societies existed which do not seem to have been widespread. The Ta Chen Hui is a purely Confucian society. The Min Teh Hui is a society organized primarily to study

*See Appendix VII.

315. China Mission Year Book, 1924, page 65.

the old Taoist books. There are probably others hidden away in other centers.

Strictly there is only one other level, that of those societies which are eclectic or inclusively tolerant. The societies on this level of thought and purpose are more numerous and, generally speaking, more active and influential. Of these there are seven. They were all started between the years 1917-21.

Four of them actually started around about 1921. This short period, then, registered a somewhat popular eruption of China's cultural and synthesizing experience. This was just previous to the significant conferences and publications dealing with Christianity which characterized 1922. It is one of the impulses which issued in the anti-Christian movement. For convenience, however, I have divided this eclectic level of interest into two plateaus thus practically making three levels of this response of China's historical experience to the western impact in general and Christianity in particular.

On one plateau are those societies which are eclectic and apocalyptic in their main emphasis. They seem to be a direct response to the apocalyptic element in Christianity. This is their chief significance. One, The Union of World Religions, started in Szechwan. The other, The World's Holy Religious Union, arose in Yunnan. This latter was not as widely influential as the former. The former is sometimes called, "The International Union of the Six Sages" as unlike the latter its leader was elevated to the rank of being one of the sages in common with those of the five religions, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, which religions formed the basis of both societies. Both societies show considerable acquaintance with Christianity. We need deal further with only the more influential one.

The Union of World Religions was started by Tang Hsu Chang, an ex-Methodist who had been influenced by a wandering Buddhist mystic. His aim was to interpret all the holy books including the Bible. Having done this he proposed to open the seventh seal of Revelation which was to be followed by great calamities and the coming of Christ. He issued an appeal which was a compound of high ethical principles and dire apocalyptical predictions. In this appeal he castigated rulers, soldiers, scientists, capitalists and religious sects, including unfaithful Christians. The catastrophes predicted, including the greatest possible natural calamities, were announced as punishments for the prevailing evil, love of the world and as a witness to the genuiness of his doctrine. Rev. Donald Fay, a Baptist pastor in Chengtu, Szechwan, says he taught the millenial hope as presented by the Apostolic Faith Movement. A set of fourteen commandments were promulgated and Christ was put as the first of the sages because of his heavenly origin. He appealed mainly to popular credulity which responded on a wide and startling scale. His

appeal came out in August, 1922. His predictions were to take place in the fall of 1923. He carried on a widespread propaganda in which he made extensive use of the mails. A tremendous stir resulted, the repercussions of which were felt even so far away as in Java. So great was the excitement that in some places officials had to step in and repress the activity of the representatives of the society. The fear of the predicted calamities swept over a large part of China. Indeed its chief characteristic was that of superstitious fear. The failure of these predictions caused a sharp revulsion of feeling. The movement flattened out. Tang himself fled. The society did not, however, die. The whole movement shows that certain millenial aspects of Christianity can be successfully used, even in China, to play upon popular credulity. The anti-Christian movement was also probably in part a reaction against this undesirable type of propaganda.

The societies on the third level are predominantly eclectic. Brief references to each of these will be given in the order of their appearance.

The Tao Teh Hsioh She became articulate in 1927. Its aim is to study *all* existing systems of thought. Its founder, Mr. Hsiao Liang-chen, was a leader in the 1911 revolution. It engages in no philanthropic work but concentrates on the cultivation of the religious and ethical life. In organization and teaching it resembles Christianity in a number of particulars. It deems itself a completer of the work of the Church. It has been somewhat critical of Christian ethical teachings though favorable to its spiritual and some of its eschatological aspects. The Christian Golden Rule was thus criticised as selfish. "To love others as you love yourself," is looked on as a *selfish* principle. "To love ourselves as we love others," it declared, is the proper approach.[316]

The Wu Shan She started in 1918. It is small numerically but has branches in all large cities. It combines the same five religions as the Union of World Religions and emphasises self-control, personal goodness and benevolence. It is organized into five departments, uses the planchette and believes in spirit-communications. It purports to give to Christianity a value equal to that of the other religions.

The International Morality Association started in Tsinan about 1921. In 1924 the leader was a Methodist catechumen and a student in a Christian school. It aims to interpret the classics of all other faiths. It originated with a young prodigy who expounded the Classics when ten years old. It is not strong in organization. A mission to the world, espoused by this society, has been frustrated through lack of funds. Peasants make up most of its membership though the highest officials have patronized it. It puts forth considerable literature.

316. Journal of Religion, November, 1925, page 604.

The Tao Yuan also became articulate in 1921. It is especially well organized. Its rapid growth is due to ardent propaganda. It gives the primacy to Taoism and Laotzu including also the four other religions already mentioned. Arrangements are made for the study of each of these religions. It is the only modern syncretic society that has a *new* scripture of its own. This was revealed through the planchette to a military officer, Liu Ming Tseng. The revelation thereof was attributed to T'ai I. This is one of the ancient terms which seems sometimes to indicate the Supreme Being.[317] All five religions are said to come from the primeval Tao. The Supreme Being is also spoken of as the "Ancient Divine Venerable Ancestor," who is the original principle of the universe and source of the great Tao. The Tao is thus made subordinate to the Supreme Being. This is a reversal of Lao Tzu's statement thereon. It was explicitly stated not to be another religion. Its aim was given as, "Equal cultivation of the inward life and its external expression." Its main methods are meditation and philanthropy. Schools and charitable institutions are part of its philanthropic program. In 1922, on the basis of a suggestion made through the planchette, the Universal Swastika Society was organized for carrying on its charitable work. Its members are of the old order mainly. It has recently tended against the public use of the planchette. This divining instrument, by the way, seems to be widely used. It was reported to me that there are in Nanking alone twenty-three societies which use it.

I shall now attempt to summarize some general aspects of these religious movements by way of showing further their significance as parts of China's answer to Christianity.

The leaders of the societies on all these three levels of interest and emphasis seem to be mainly composed of the older literati. They are not modern trained. The significance of these societies is thus in contrast to the activities of China's modernized intelligentsia. They stand for a movement of China's historical mind. Modern students are not prominent in these societies either as leaders or members, though in West China students were noted in the Confucian and Buddhistic societies.

In the Buddhistic societies modern educated young men are found to some extent as already indicated. But in general the membership of these societies is made up of the people. The Union of World Religions had a tremendous effect on the masses. In the Universal Morality Association peasants were prominent in the membership. Thus the answer of China's historical experience to Christianity is largely an answer by the general populace.

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317. Chinese Recorder, July, 1919, pages 466-7, August, pages 548, 551.

Numerically the strength of those societies which arose between 1914-21 is probably less than that of Christianity. Add to them, however, the people affected by the Buddhist and Confucian movements and we have a movement mainly religious that probably outstrips in numbers the Christian Movement. These movements are mainly urban, and geographically they do not appear to be as extensive as the Christian Movement. They have, however, grown more rapidly than Christianity and wield considerable popular influence. They have not yet reached the point of national organization. They are not, therefore, as articulate nationally as the Christian Movement.

The relation of women to these modern movements of China's ancient religious ideals and thought varies. The older vegetarian societies admitted women though, since they were looked on as being greater sinners than men, it cost them more to get in.[318] Women joined the Tong Shan She in West China. In Tsaoshih, Hupeh, and Anking, Anhwei, however, no evidence came to hand that women joined. In Hankow the women were as prominent if not more so than the men. In Tsinan, Shantung, women were not received into the Tao Yuan. In 1924, however, a separate organization of women was formed which had three hundred members. Women, therefore, are not in the leadership of these societies and not apparently prominent in the membership.

In general, then, these eclectic movements are lay movements so far as the membership is concerned. All those societies, concerned either with China's indigenous systems of thought or those eclectic in nature, have a strong ethical tone. They emphasize ethical living. Their moral influence is good, though here and there an occasional unethical feature occurs. The founder of the World Union of Religions was, for instance, charged with the misappropriation of funds. On the other hand one hears occasionally of moral reformation resulting from their influence. The Tao Yuan shows a missionary fervor and joyous community spirit.[319] They are all part of a quest for a more "satisfying life." They correlate closely with the old vegetarian sects in that through all of them runs a strong strain of Buddhism. In fact their main religious emphasis seems to be Buddhistic. They thus tend towards the Buddhistic way of expressing the religious life. Frequent emphasis is laid upon contemplation in this regard. One society concentrates on academic study. But all of them are religious in aim. This is not, of course, as true of the strictly Confucian societies. Their attitude is selective. All of them are a force for and not against religious and right living. Even the frequent inclusion of spiritualism is a groping for spiritual values. They do not seem to have much to do with politics direct.

318. Chinese Recorder, January, 1902, page 5.
319. Chinese Recorder, December, 1925, page 778.

All of these societies, with the exception of the strictly Buddhistic ones, register a revival of interest in Confucianism. In some societies Confucianism stands first. The mingling of Buddhistic and Confucian thought is one phase of a modern raprochement of these two systems once so antagonistic to each other. Some of the same prominent modern scholars who study and criticize Confucianism do the same for Buddhism. Add to this widespread popular interest in Confucianism the work of specific Confucian societies and the study thereof by modernized intelligentsia and it becomes evident that in spite of its dwindling political and autocratic prestige there is a deep revival of feeling about Confucianism. The significance of this is sometimes unduly minimized. In view of this mass and widespread interest in Confucianism, it is possible to understand this statement, made in 1924 as a result of a study of the general situation, "The one significant attitude revealed is that Confucianism must be the basis for any successful religion in China."[320]

This brings us to the specific relation of this answer of China's historical experience to Christianity. These significant movements show that the Chinese do not look on Christianity and China's older religions as mutually exclusive. That is a psychological fact. The Buddhistic and the Confucian movements are avowed competitors with Christianity. The indigenous and eclectic movements are generally favorable to it. However they run parallel rather than convergent thereto. None of them are anti-Christian. Both the anti-Christian and the pro-Christian movements are in effect recognizing Christianity as on an equality with the other religions of China. That is one specific change which has come in this revolutionary period. Generally speaking the adherents of modern religious movements have laid aside the superiority-complex. They are practising the principle of religious liberty and equality. Their attitude is very similar to that of the various divisions within Christianity to each other.

These various religious movements, however, generally run true to Chinese religious psychology. The Tao Yuan, The Tao Teh Hsioh She, The World Union of Religions, and the Universal Union of Holy Religions, recognize a Supreme Being and seem to give him the first place. The Buddhistic, Confucian and the other modern groups do not center their thought on the Supreme Being. And none of them, so far as I can discover, emphasize the necessity and possibility of personal experience of God. They all stand for individual and social righteousness but do not realize the necessity of "cooperative companionship" with God as essential to achieving it. Herein lies their great challenge to Christian effort.

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320. "Changing Standards in Morals and Religion," Sarvis, China Mission Year Book, 1924, page 53.

The study of these eclectic movements makes it possible to learn somewhat of the actual response of the Chinese mind to Christianity. This cannot be analysed conclusively. The following aspects of it are, however, clear. (1) Though they are sects still separate from each other they do not embody the sectarian psychology. (2) One or two at least responded mainly to the extreme millenial aspects of Christianity. (3) They show no signs of any response to the special Christian ideas of salvation. (4) Their interest in Christianity centers in its ethico-spiritual aspects. (5) Their chief response to Christianity is to the ethical significance of the personality of Christ, with here and there hints of a recognition of his divine status. They are thus a response to Christianity in terms of China's religious experience.

In general, then, these movements are favorable to Christianity in their emphasis upon its ethical and spiritual elements. In addition both the anti-Christian and the pro-Christian movements are testing Christianity by Chinese ethical standards which are, sometimes at least, taken to be similar to Christian standards. Thus taken as a whole they are a movement towards testing out Christianity. Christianity is under the eyes of China's deeply aspiring soul and awakened intellect. The Christian religion has entered upon the last and greatest phase of its struggle in China. For the first time the Christian soul is facing the Chinese soul. This is an inspiring fact. Even the anti-Christian movement is inspiring. All these movements indicate that China's mind is alert to the significance of Christianity even though neither they nor Christians have as yet agreed as to its essential meaning.

One other significance of these ramifying cultural, intellectual and religious movements is their insistence, implicit rather than explicit, that the body of truth in their experience be recognized and utilized. They are movements to keep alive the things that China holds dear.

In this answer of China to Christianity as embodied in these various movements two aspects stand out. (1) The modernized. (2) The conservative. These are China's liberal and fundamentalist movements. China is experiencing a conservative religious movement as well as a modern and anti-religious one. What do they mean for the future? Who can tell? It may mean a religious struggle of great magnitude. It looks like it. Perhaps China cannot avoid this phase of development. One thing is clear, the extreme wing of China's modernized intelligentsia will not have things all their own way as regards religion. They may modify it. They can hardly drive it out. This conservative Chinese religious tendency may join up with the fundamentalist tendency from the West and create a Christian phase of this struggle. Such a conjunction of ultra-apocalyptic Christian emphases and indigenous religious ideas has actually already taken place in the Union of World Religions. This movement caused a passing stir in China deeper

than any other. China is in a religious as well as a nationalistic mood. This offers great opportunities. It forbodes great complexities also. It involves a challenge to a comprehensive program of religious education. In a way the masses of the Chinese people are educating themselves religiously. In any event this study should convince us that religion is not dead in China though making it true and fully vital is yet a task for the future. The Chinese emphasis upon the ethical basis of the universe and life plus this significant religious search will prevent China falling into materialism. For that one may certainly hope.

Christianity in China is beset with difficulties behind and before. That is another fact that emerges from the above study. Christianity is no longer confronted in China only by superstitious suspicion and ignorance of its aim and message. This form of resistance has been broken, though misunderstanding as to its essential message is still prevalent. But it is a misunderstanding arising out of critical scrutiny and intellectual interest, and is found both within and without the Church. It is a stage in thinking through the significance of the Christian religion. It arises in an effort to appraise it not from superstitious fear of it. The critical attitude of China's modernized intelligentsia and the selective attitude of her older intelligentsia are encouraging proofs that China's soul is taking Christianity seriously.

Nevertheless the difficulties of Christianity now come from behind as well as from in front. Western materialistic attitudes towards all religion are finding expression through a section of China's modernized intelligentsia. In their attacks upon religion they secure much of their high explosives from "Christian" lands. Western scientific tests of Christianity are being used against Christianity in China. Thus Christianity in China is being assailed from the rear. To these is being joined China's indigenous rationalistic attitudes. A section of China's intelligentsia has inclined towards agnostic rationalism though their attitude has never swept the masses. This is why the revolution has brought a revival of religion as well as an open attack upon it. This is the vanguard of Christianity's frontal difficulties in China. It has always been operative to some extent. It has now left mere superstition far in the rear.

To this must be added the nationalistic impulse in China which concentrates its attack upon the relation of Christianity with western imperialism, capitalism and objectionable treaties. This does not show itself in strictly anti-Christian or anti-missionary moods. It is rather anti-those aspects of "Christian" and western civilization which as seen do not accord with either Chinese or Christian ethical standards. In the revival of China's own ethical and religious systems and the eclectic societies nationalism takes mainly the form of a renewed emphasis upon China's historical values and culture. China's modernized intelli-

gentsia share in this emphasis. The anti-Christian movement, however, represents the extreme and minority wing of even the modernized intelligentsia. In it this revival of emphasis upon China's own values has become chauvinistic and resentfully critical.

This doubly exposed position in which Christianity now finds itself is particularly evident in regard to the problem of religious education in Christian schools. The contested position is the place religion should have in education. One wing of China's modernized intelligentsia is trying hard to secularize education. In this both frontal and rear movements are apparent. In front appears the Chinese rationalistic attitude towards religion which has arisen out of an overemphasis upon one aspect of the Sung philosophy.[321] The rear movement appears in the fact that the western trend towards the secularization of education is being favorably received by a section of China's modern educationalists. I am inclined to think that the influence of the western secularization of education is a stronger factor in the present struggle than the rationalistic attitude of a section of China's literati. Neither the Chinese rationalistic attitude towards religion nor the emphasis on the secularization of education are supported by the earlier educational ideals of the Chinese.

The content of education in China has, it is true, been predominantly Confucian. The first chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean is distinctly an educational ideal.[322] This translated somewhat freely reads, "The decree (or will) of T'ien is 'nature' (human nature), to follow 'nature' is Tao (or the natural mode of living), cultivating the Tao is education." Education is thus a means of developing or unfolding human "nature," in modern terms "personality." Practise as well as instruction are aspects of education, the emphasis here being on the former. This ideal embodies a religious attitude, the attitude towards ultimates. To inculcate this attitude was thus a part of education. The "nature" indicated is, of course, primarily ethical. A specific attitude towards T'ien is not mentioned. And usually teaching about the Supreme Being was incidental rather than primary as is the case in Christian religious education. But personalistic implications as to the Supreme Entity are, as we have seen, scattered throughout the Chinese Classics. Many references to T'ien have a distinctly theistic significance. Most of the statements I have used in setting forth Chinese ideas about the Supreme Being came from Confucianists. In any event T'ien and Tao are always thought of in terms of ethical excellencies. To develop in man their ethical nature was one aspect of education as thus conceived. Such religious aspects were not deleted or ignored until quite recently.

321. Pages 115-116.

322. Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter I, Legge, Commercial Press Edition, page 247, 天命之謂性, 率性之謂道, 修道之謂教.

Religion was, therefore, to this extent included in the earlier educational ideals of the Chinese.

In the course of history Chinese educational ideals have shifted in emphasis. Education was in early times a state affair. It aimed in general to prepare youth for their place as members of the group; "citizenship" is the modern word. Then it became largely a private matter but with the emphasis still broad. Finally it became competitive with a view to selecting leaders for political service. It also passed from being primarily an agency for the development of the moral personality to being an agency for training and disciplining the intellect. From being a fairly general preparation for life it passed to being vocational preparation for the privileged leaders. In both cases it lost ground. Both these shifts in emphasis tended towards the secularization of education. The rationalistic interpretation of the Sung philosophy pushed this movement still further. But as long as the textbooks remained the same religious attitudes and implications had a place in actual instruction. I have already mentioned a group of school boys who told me that their notions of The Supreme Being had come from the classics and their teachers.[323] The final divorce of religion from education was consummated when western ideas of the secularization of education became joined to the above tendencies. The modern use of the Classics in schools practically eliminates the religious aspect of their contents.

The secularization of education in the west correlates with the emphasis on the rights of individuals to do their own religious thinking and the rise of denominational propaganda. This correlation is chronological whether causal or not. The exclusion of religion from public schools in the west is a defensive measure mainly. It prevents any one religious group utilizing education for its own ends with the backing of the state. It is of course most evident in America, from which part of the world the major drive for mission education in this revolutionary period in China has come. It results in a non-religious system, the dangers of which are being increasingly recognized and obviated in some places. Furthermore private education in the West has been mainly, though not exclusively, as an attempt to provide a place for denominational religious training. Thus has developed the right of sects to teach religion in their own way and with their own emphases. If religion can be freed from this propagandic aspect then it can be put back into public education. Otherwise it will have to stay out, or be run parallel to it.

This struggle between secularized religious education and the teaching of religion in a general way has been transferred to China through mission schools which have been set up mainly, though not exclusively.

323. Page 115.

for the purpose of propagating certain religious emphases. Chinese educational ideals have never been propagandic as regards religion, though the older ideals certainly do not exclude it. No inconsiderable portion of China's modernized intelligentsia feels that it should still be included. The existing tendency in China towards the secularization of education is a defensive measure. First against extra-national educational influences: second against religious propaganda. Confucianism has been shorn of its privileges both in the state and in education and has apparently accepted the inevitable. The tendency in China is to do the same thing with other and special religious propaganda. The use of general education for purposes of religious propaganda has come out of the West. I am neither combating it or defending it. That is not my purpose. Likewise the extreme secularization of education is a western importation into China. The West has compromised. Public education is secular. Private education may be, is not exclusively, propagandic. The Chinese do not yet appreciate the historical significance of this compromise. Therefore their nationalistic aspirations are tending in the direction of secularization. But this emphasis is western in origin as well as Chinese.

The attack on required religious education (most often interpreted, I think, as propaganda) is thus supplied with ammunition from "Christian" countries. This fact increases the difficulty of overcoming it. The attack is an encircling movement. Chinese rationalistic tendencies plus western secularization make a formidable combination. In the early days of mission education in China this combination had not been made in China to any appreciable extent. Educational development in the West was largely unknown in China. Mission education was taken as its model. The situation is not hopeless by any means. An aeroplane movement may be necessary to get out of the difficulty. A combination of Christian motives with older Chinese ideals, very similar anyhow, should be possible. The presence of religious elements in the widespread eclectic movements is proof that the divorce of religion from education does not arise naturally from the old Chinese culture. But developing the way out is beyond the scope of this treatment. The fact remains that the difficulties of Christian education in China are coming from the rear as well as the front. A new situation is upon us.

Interpret the situation how one will the fact remains that Christianity in China is now attacked from both the front and the rear. A new strategy is needed for this new position. In emphasizing in its annual meeting of 1926 "Christ's way of Life" and his personality as subjects for spiritual research, the National Christian Council of China was trying by aeroplane methods to get away from this doubly exposed position. It was a new strategy to meet a new turn in the tide of battle.

All the above means that the struggle of Christianity in China is only one phase of a world struggle. It is ceasing to be looked on merely as a *western* religion. It is being taken as a world religion. As soon as it can free itself from the entanglements of western civilization and imperialistic policies, which ought not to be difficult, it will be judged in and for its religious and life values only. In essence the revived indigenous Chinese systems of thought and the eclectic societies are doing that now. Up to date Christianity has been winning a foothold in China. To clarify its central message and unify its spirit are the next steps in its advance. Furthermore it can present itself in terms of China's ethical idealism and theistic searchings. This is the keynote of Christianity's response to China's answer.

China's answer to Christianity comes from the deeps of its soul. Back of it is a tremendous volume of popular interest which though beyond measuring statistically is nevertheless of great significance. It is based on lasting ethical and spiritual considerations even though these are often mixed with ideas and activities of only transient significance. China's awakened soul is beginning to test out Christianity with its own ethical and spiritual values. This is the meaning of the religious revolution we have reviewed even though like the political revolution it is far from having settled immediate problems. In both cases there are only beginnings. But the direction is set. It is a movement towards a richer spiritual life and a more righteous social order. Christians used to hold China up to their tests. Some still do. China is now testing Christianity and the civilization of which it is a part.

CHAPTER XII.

Will Christianity Survive?

UP to 1858 the Christian Movement in China was striving for a foothold. For the next forty-five years it sought to clarify its legal status in accordance with prevailing ideals. This legal status is now in the waste basket. For about the last quarter of a century Christian interest and effort has centered on institutional development. The door of naturalization is now opening.

It is necessary that I make clear what I mean by "naturalization." I do not aim to imply that the Christian Movement in China will be sinafied in any complete sense of that term. It will, however, cease to be *alien* propaganda, and will be merged into China's religious experience. This merging will necessitate mutual modification of both China's historical experience and Christianity. This mutual modification cannot be foretold in detail. For Christianity in China, however, it will certainly involve the following factors. (1) Chinese experience of God will be direct and not mediated in any sense by western Christians. (2) The expression of that experience will become Chinese in intellectual and literary terms and forms of worship. (3) The initiative and dynamic of Christian effort in China will be China-centric. None of these factors are yet generally dominant throughout the Christian Church in China. All of them are apparent to some extent. Only insofar as these factors become dominant will the Chinese Church become "indigenous" in any vital sense. What is said below aims to show that Christianity is beginning to be naturalized and indigenous along these lines.

At present the Christian Movement in China is under intense strains. These strains arise in direct attacks, sometimes virulent in spirit, and in competitive aspirations, educational, religious and nationalistic. They create such challenging questions as these:—Will Christianity *survive* in China? Will it be *absorbed?* Will it be able to make a distinct contribution to China or will it be completely *sinafied?* Dodging such questions will not down them. They must be grappled with. They are pertinent and persistent.

Earlier attempts to plant Christianity in China did not take root deep enough to survive in any visible form."[324] The Nestorian Movement was absorbed. Roman Catholic efforts to Christianize China were submerged. Perhaps both left some lasting effects. Such effects, however, cannot now be satisfactorily demonstrated, so far as the religious life of China is concerned. The Christian Church practically disap-

324. "Critical Moments in The History of Christianity in China," H. F. MacNair, China Christian Year Book, 1926, page 196.

peared from those lands also where its first victories were won. For present-day China Christianity is mainly an Anglo-Christian Movement. Chinese Christians cannot take up Christianity at the point where it was as recorded in the New Testament alone. The fact to be recognized here is that the superiority or uniqueness of its religious idealism is not alone a guarantee of its objective survival in any particular place. The mere assertion of the superiority of Christian idealism does not carry its own proof of survival. Furthermore Christian idealism is much obscured by the present divergence of emphases among Protestant Christians. It is also evident, from what has been said in previous chapters, that much Chinese idealism runs parallel to Christian idealism.

In attempting to answer the question, "Will Christianity survive in China?", it is necessary to have some test of its capacity to survive. A conclusive test is not easily discovered. While it has survived during two milleniums Christianity has passed through several civilizations and has not always survived in every place and time wherein it has made a start. An appeal to Apostolic experience must of necessity be somewhat inconclusive. Modern times and conditions are different. The Christian religion does not perhaps have to become altogether new to meet the old human needs of the Chinese people but it does have to take a new grip on a civilization older than any through which it has yet passed or by which it has so far been influenced.

Several outstanding aspects of the present Christian problem in China did not burden the Apostles. They were not agents for a group of rich churches. They carried no economic significance. They controlled no "mission" property, nor were they alien landed gentry. For them the problem of subsidization was unknown. Neither did they build up in "mission" lands an educational system. They had their difficulties. All kinds of isms were extant then; some the same as now. But the vast illuminations modern science has flashed upon man and his universe were not included in their offerings.[325] Furthermore, a Chinese revolution looking to the unification of China is now on. Christian work as it has been carried on is taken to conflict therewith. A somewhat similar problem troubled the Christians of the days of Constantine. It did not bother the Apostles much, if at all. Christians in China need the Apostolic fervor. That would carry them through most difficulties. Nevertheless Christianity did not survive in the lands where these Apostolic victories were won or later in those centers where its great controversial contests were waged. How, then, can we be reasonably sure that the modern Chinese Church will endure?

One cannot answer this question on the basis of the numerical strength of Christianity in China. Statistics have in themselves alone

325. Pages 132-133.

little survival value. Warneck says that 100,000 Christians were added to the Church in the first century. Modern Christianity in China was three and a half times as successful during its first century. One dare not, however, claim that the survival value of modern Christianity in China surpasses the primitive Church in that statistical proportion! Perhaps the 100,000 additions to the primitive churches were a greater proportion of contemporaneous populations than the present 500,000 Chinese Christians are of the Chinese people. In any event statistics alone do not determine the survival value of anything.

There are, however, several aspects of the present Christian Movement which were absent from earlier Christian efforts in China. These are promising life-grips. Christian education is such a life-grip. This again is not a matter of *statistical strength* alone. In 1906 there were 57,683 students in Christian schools in China: in 1925 about 250,000. Allowing for an annual increase of eight or nine per cent. probably about 2,500,000 pupils passed under the influence of Christian educationalists during the intervening years. That is not many viewed against the multitudes of other Chinese who have tramped through life during the same years. Even now the number of Chinese youth influenced by Christian education is only a fraction of one per cent. Yet each pupil influenced and each leader produced—some now in prominent national positions—has helped plant Christian influence in some measure in the heart of China. Christians have helped to educate China. This is a root of influence that goes deep enough to withstand heavy surface storms. The urgency of the modern attack upon Christian schools in China is proof that their influence is more extensive and significant than their statistical strength. China's present Revolutionary Movement shows this influence in the inclusion of Christian idealism and leaders in the moderate wing of the Kuo Ming Tang.

Geographically, also, the Church is more deeply rooted in China's life than ever before. In 10,000 centers Christians are a community influence, sometimes large, sometimes small. Through these widely scattered centers Christianity has dug deeply into the mass life of China. It is difficult to imagine all these roots unearthed and withered by the roadside. Furthermore, the Bible is more widely distributed and read in China than ever before.

In the far-reaching influence of Christian education, the geographical expansion of Christian centers, and the widespread acquaintance with the Bible, we have three factors making for the survival of the Christian religion in China almost unknown in the earlier attempts to set it up therein. Christians disagree as to their attitude towards their Book. But it speaks for itself! One cannot imagine it now being forgotten by China. Neither can its influence be reduced to that of a piece of alien literature only. It is not alien to China to begin with.

It is Oriental. Its message is more easily understood by Chinese than the manner and form of presenting Christianity adopted by its western carriers. The missionary staff will undoubtedly decrease numerically. One cannot, however, imagine the Chinese Christians becoming so chauvinistic that they will not desire to share with western Christians their tasks and their experiences. They will not sink into splendid spiritual isolation. Some idea of the universal influence of its own idealism is already in the Chinese mind. The principles of Sun Yat Sen, the avowed basis of the modern revolutionary movement, contain reference to the setting up of a world relationship based on these principles. The Chinese Christians will desire to work with their western compatriots of this larger world kingdom. All these aspects of modern Christian life in China give to modern Christianity in China a survival significance greater than it ever before had.

But we may go deeper yet. The clue for this deeper digging is found in the above paragraph. Christian education, the geographical distribution of Christian centers and the widespread acquaintance with the Bible, are tremendously important factors in making Christianity in China a dynamic part of China's social and religious life. Without these Christianity could not survive anywhere. With them survival may correlate with the survival of the people concerned. For me, however, the real test of the capacity of Christianity to survive in China is the degree to which it has entered into the social and religious consciousness of the Chinese people.

To the extent that Chinese and Christian idealism, individual, social and religious, correlate, to that extent Christianity is already a part of China's social and religious consciousness. That this correlation goes much deeper than is usually recognized has been suggested many times in the previous chapters. Yet Christianity has certain specific emphases of its own to offer. Some of these were outlined in chapter X.

Christianity has already had a stimulating effect on the life of China. It has helped in both the intellectual and religious renaissances. In spite of its lack of unification in ways of worship and intellectual formulation of its beliefs, Christianity has been a liberalizing influence. Some Christians seem to desire to repress thought. But Christianity as a whole cannot be so characterized. The practice of the true spirit of Christ always issues in toleration. When known, as he ought to be, distinct from the trappings of any civilization, he is always a liberalizer and liberator. Furthermore, no matter how exclusive their denominational attitude, all Christian groups recognize the right of individuals and other groups to choose their own ways of belief. Freedom for the expression of quite diverging religious attitudes and ideas is the result. Denominational or theological exclusiveness is not the boundary of Christian thought. The divergence of Christian beliefs and theological ideals in

the Christian Movement in China actually makes for freedom of thought as the only working solution. This by way of digression.

I wish now to estimate the depth to which the Christian religion has penetrated the social and religious consciousness of China along three lines. (1) The present conflict of Christianity with China's awakened mind and consciousness. (2) Some signs that the Chinese are beginning to reinterpret Christianity in terms of their own experience. (3) Some emerging conditions of survival.

The present struggle of Christianity in China is widespread and patent. The reinterpretation of the Christian religion in terms of Chinese social and religious experience is only in its beginning. By "emerging conditions of survival" I mean some attitudes and emphases which already characterize the effort of some Christians, but that need to be put into the forefront of the Christian program in China.

First, what of the conflict through which the Christian Movement is now passing? Communistic influence is blamed for some of it. The anti-Christian movement, however, appeared before the Communists took the center of the stage. This conflict is fundamentally one between the Christian religion and institutions and the consciousness of the Chinese people. It is a struggle with the Chinese soul. In this struggle serious and sometimes disconcerting strains have developed. These may be briefly analyzed as follows.

First, strains exist between the Christian Movement and its environment. Modern Christian effort in China has been largely alien. The Christian religion is international geographically and in purpose. The Chinese are developing a nationalistic spirit. One resulting strain consists in the assumption that Christianity by reason of its alien and international tendencies does not enter with sufficient ardor into the effort to unify China.

Modern Christianity comes clad in a juvenile civilization, which is honeycombed with the psychology of conquest. Its culture differs from that of China to some extent. Christian values and aims have been viewed through the haze of the psychology of their concurrent civilization. Even though it may not be charged with being out for economic conquest, yet Christianity has moved forward as though set on cultural conquest: it has undoubtedly aimed at religious conquest. Hence another strain. The Chinese object to being *conquered* by anything or anybody.

The huge economic and institutional development of Christianity has tended to obscure its spiritual aims and message. That such a huge economic effort can be utterly disinterested is hard to understand. Thus to many Chinese it seems to hint at something other than spiritual sharing or fellowship. It tends to control through its economic influence. This creates uncertainty as to its spiritual values. Westerners in China need to keep in mind that in accordance with their idealism the

Chinese tend to test every social movement by the sincerity of its purpose. This resolves itself into a search for its disinterestedness. Somehow the Christian Movement in China has not made its disinterestedness clear. It is misunderstood. Hence another strain.

Much is made by Christians of human equality. This should be applicable to nations also. This is especially true if, like the Chinese, one is inclined to look on a nation as a family. But Christianity in China has come out of those nations which utilized discriminatory principles in their treaty relations with China. The "Christian" West thus seems to have asked some things of China which it is loth to give in turn. That is the way it looks to the Chinese anyway! What shall be done with a religion that has relied on political arrangements now deemed discriminatory? Is it not strong enough to influence its own civilization or government? How then can it help China? Another strain!

Then, too, modern scientific and philosophical ideals of the West do not seem to fit into much that the Christians teach. "Why is this?", is the natural query. How can a religion that seems so behind these great movements of scientific thought help us? Is the Christian religion, therefore, too old for our modern needs? Does it belong to a past we are trying to cast off? Thus emerges anothers strain—doubt if Christianity can be socially dynamic!

Second, there are strains also *within* the Christian Church in China. These are more intensely felt in some places than others. Here are some of them.

Western Christians have given generously to Christian work in China. Of necessity for many years through their representatives they directed the work they supported. But Christian work in China can no longer smoothly focus itself ten thousand miles away. Chinese Christians, where they are alive, desire to direct their own spiritual life and churches. They seek spiritual self-determination. Where they do not seek it they need a medical diagnosis! Such Christians are moribund! This gives rise to a strain between altruistic external determination and self-determination.

Chinese Christians realize that they are behind their western fellows in strength, especially with regards to economic ability and the propagative urge. Few of them desire to get on alone. Most of them feel they cannot do so. They want help of all kinds. But they do not want it handed down as a favor. They want to be looked on as social and spiritual equals. Where help is given they want to be trusted therewith as fully as their western colleagues. They want their relation with their western helpers to be that of free cooperation between equals. To some extent this comes into conflict with the principle of western Christian trusteeship. Another strain!

Many Christian groups in China will continue to need help of all kinds. The rich western churches will have to share their mundane, as well as their spiritual, goods with them. But this help must not get in the way of the direct responsibility of the Chinese to self-appropriation of God and self-expression thereof. Hence a feeling that this help as it has been given has not always left them free. A strain on their spirit!

With the help the western Christians have so generously given have come certain forms of belief, worship and church polity. The Chinese are beginning to realize that these do not always fit their needs. They might want to retain their relation to certain groups in the West and yet change their religious ways to some extent. Can they? They don't know. In general they have moved along the religious ways set up for them. In many cases they have slid into a sleepy religious habituation. Now they are waking up. They want to develop a free expression of the spirit of Christ. They want to follow Christ, not the West. They are caught in religious habits that don't fit. This induces another strain. How can they work with their western sympathizers and be free?

Others might paint these strains in different colors. They might, indeed, focus their attention on *other* strains. The condition of strain is evident enough, no matter how one paints in the details. What does it mean?

Christianity is an Oriental religion which has come to China dressed in Occidental trappings. The strains are much more the result of the trappings than the genius of the religion. They are due precisely to the fact that Christianity is entering into China's consciousness in a vital way; it is digging into China's mass-consciousness. The strains are not on the surface. They are *within* the consciousness of China. China's cultural consciousness is stirred because another culture is reaching the deeps of its soul. In this reaction Christianity, no matter how defined, is sharing. This is not just a stray mouse running over a sleeper in the dark. It is a new vision. The erstwhile sleeper feels a new awareness. The Chinese Church is no longer thoughtlessly absorbing lessons. It is making a new and vital response. It has passed the stage of just letting things be done for it. It wants to help do them. The era of reproduction is passing. That of original Chinese Christian effort has dawned. The "People's Revolution," now sweeping over much of China, is a case in point. China and the Chinese Church are beginning to do and think for themselves. Their spirit is beginning to dig under the Occidental trappings of this Oriental religion.

Of course the old machinery and the old relationships of Christians in China are strained! The suit the missionaries made for the Chinese Church a hundred or more years since is now too small. It is tearing!

Everybody feels the strains. The missionaries feel them. The boards feel them. The world feels them. They are due to the settling of the tenon of the Christian religion into a China-centric mortise. They mean that Christianity is now a part of China's consciousness and must change to fit it. It is beginning to be a religion of China. That is a necessary step in making it the religion of China and the world. China is consciously wrestling with a new problem. The strains are the efforts of an awakened spirit seeking to adjust itself to a new factor in its environment. Christianity has entered into the consciousness of China deep enough to stir it profoundly. It no longer rests on treaties or the urge of western Christians. China's soul has come to grips with it.

Thus negatively China can no longer escape facing the fact of Christianity; and positively it is making a vital difference in Chinese thought and effort. On one side it appears as a difficulty; on the other as an opportunity. About both sides the Chinese are doing much stirring thinking. The significance of Christ is within their consciousness. Christianity is no longer just titillating China's nerve ends. The struggle is not simply a peripheral uneasiness. It is inward. These strains are, therefore, one step in China's conscious realization of Christianity.

That Christianity is both causing and being subjected to strains *within* the social and religious consciousness of China does not, however, permit of a conclusive prophecy that it will survive therein. These strains, nevertheless, do indicate that Christianity is no longer a matter of surface tension in China alone. It has gone beneath the surface.

We may dig still deeper. Does the fact that Christianity is being realized within the consciousness of China also mean that the Chinese are beginning to enter into spiritual self-realization through the Christian religion? Put another way this question means, Are the Chinese beginning to express the Christian religion and Christian effort in terms of their own experience? No final answer to such a question is possible. There are, however, signs that this process is beginning. What I have to say thereon is not based on any comprehensive insight into what the mass of Chinese Christians are thinking. It has to do mainly with what I have noted in the minds of a fairly large group of Christian intelligentsia with whom I have had personal contacts. As a result I feel that the Chinese are *beginning* to reinterpret Christianity in terms of their own experience. Christianity cannot be looked on as naturalized until this is done.

Before developing briefly some points in connection with this emerging Chinese reinterpretation of Christianity, a few words must be said with regard to the relation of the experience of any group of people to the Christian religion when it is, or has been, brought to them.

Frequent reference is made to the dangers of religious syncretism. That the Christian religion has some distinctive features of its own has already been pointed out. If it were not in some aspects unique it would have no contribution as a religion to make to China. To attempt to get down off the superiority sand fort does not mean that Christians need admit complete similarity between their religious and social offerings and Chinese idealism and practise. Absolute syncretism in this sense is not necessary or possible. Yet it should not be forgotten that Christianity as it has come to China is, to some extent, the product of syncretic readjustment. It has passed through Jewish, Greek, Roman and European civilizations, all of which have left their marks upon it. The Christian creeds were, to no small extent, one result of intimate contacts with differing systems of human thought.

I shall refer to Paul, the Apostle of Christian Cosmopolitanism, and the Greek fathers as cases in point. The usual way of explaining the variations in emphases put forth by these particular Christian leaders in their presentation of the Christian religion is that they were seeking to adapt their Christian message to a new and larger environment. That is true enough. But they were more than adaptionists. There is an explanation that goes deeper than this and is equally true. They were not simply trying to adapt their message to a new environment. They were also expressing their Christian Message in terms of their own experience.

Paul could not have freed the Christian religion from Jewish legalism had his experience been only that of a Jewish legalist. He had a double experience. He was brought up in a city that gave him a cosmopolitan as well as a Jewish training. He was a Jew living in a world atmosphere. He was a Jew and a Roman citizen living in an Hellenistic atmosphere. To some extent he thought in both Jewish and Greek modes of thought. He was a Jewish citizen of the world.[326] He was a cosmopolite who could not be compressed into the cramping mould of Jewish legalism. Thus he became a forerunner of the Christian cosmopolite. He expressed his Christian faith in terms of his experience. The same thing is true of the Greek fathers. In both cases Christianity gained something by this *syncretism of experience*. The Christian emphasis on the possibility of the transformation of the individual character gained much from the contact of the Christian religion with Greek thought.[327] Among other things this *syncretism of experience* helped to enlarge the conception of Christ from that of a Jewish Messiah to that of a revealer of God of universal significance.

Now it seems to me that the Chinese have reached this point of reinterpreting Christianity in terms of their own experience for the first

326. "Jesus of Nazereth," Klausner, page 63.
327. A Guide to the Study of the Christian Religion, G. B. Smith, page 57.

time in the history of Christianity in China. Such a syncretism of experience has begun in China. Heretofore the Chinese have been reproducing what they were taught. They have been acquiescent students. And much Christian teaching, unfortunately, did not stir them to think. They are now using their own mind. Their lessons in Christianity have sunk in deep enough for them to begin to reinterpret them for themselves. I can indicate only some of the early spring blades of this reinterpretation. That China out of her own rich experience will, like Paul and the Greek fathers, add something to the Christian movement may be confidently anticipated. All that this will mean, however, no one can wisely foretell. I have elsewhere ventured a few hints.[328]

China's social experience centers in the family as a focus of interest and a unit of social organization. With this is connected "ancestor worship." This latter has always been a difficulty to missionaries. The Centenary Conference (1907), which was composed entirely of missionaries, attempted to evaluate ancestral worship from their western Christian viewpoint. The truth in it was recognized. The general attitude, however, was that of its necessary displacement. Since then no body of missionaries has attempted to evaluate it. Here and there a Chinese Christian is now beginning to urge that it contains something Christians should retain. Chinese Christians have not yet, however, worked out its permanent implications. But a synthesis of experience in this connection is beginning. There is a tendency to measure its value in terms of Christian principles.

Rather more definite are two other tendencies among Chinese Christians to express Christianity in terms of China's social experience as it centers in family life. Christianity has been presented by its western advocates in China very much in terms of an individual response to God and an individual relation to the Christian organization. One catches here and there an effort in Chinese Christian thought to think of man's relation to God, and even of God himself, in terms of family unity and loyalty. In this tendency Chinese Christian experience is approaching that of the early Christians. In so far as it exists, this tendency means that the Chinese Christians in their ideas of God and their relation to him are entering into the real Christian atmosphere—the atmosphere of family relationships. Some of them also are beginning to think of church membership in terms of the family as a unit. The church is also sometimes measured in terms of a community relationship. Perhaps it would be fairer to say that there is evident a pause in thought about the relation of Christianity to China's family experience, with tendencies on the part of some Chinese Christians to express their Christian faith in terms of that relationship. The Chinese sense of human solidarity is entering into Christian faith.

328. Pages, 8, 31-34.

When one comes to China's ethical consciousness the movement for Christian self-realization in terms of Chinese experience is more in evidence. One dominating social idea has been the necessity and possibility of humans getting into harmony with nature. This nature is usually thought of in terms of ethical excellencies. In the family ethical cooperation is a prominent ideal. In regard to society the ideal of ethical harmony is prominent. The Chinese are testing Christianity in these terms. The ultimate value in this ideal relationship is love. The Chinese frequently urge that Christians must above all else *love fully and freely*. Their ethics are humanistic rather than legalistic. It is here that the somewhat radical Lao Tzu fell athwart Confucianism. Lao Tzu believed in men living out their "nature"—ethical nature—but not in the extreme legalistic forms espoused by some Confucianists The most frequent Chinese criticism I have heard during recent years anent foreign attitudes to China's international status is that the foreigners are legalistic rather than humanistic. Denominationalism is also cramped by legalistic psychology.

This Chinese humanistic interest is seen most clearly in the principles of Sun Yat Sen.[329] His chief aim and value was the conservation and development of life. Some Chinese Christians express themselves as desiring a religious experience that is distinct from an ordinary life experience. And yet they rarely think of religious experience as only relating them to something *apart from life*. It is evident from much said in previous chapters that the Chinese do not conceive of religion as something set over against social living. Neither do they think of it as something entirely similar to social living. It is something within life, though reaching far beyond it. To this extent they are mystical. The Buddhist recluse does, it is true, try to separate himself from life in a detached individualistic mysticism. But the masses think of all their religions or religious activities in social terms and usually aim thereby at some social value. The Buddhist recluse is not the norm of the religious life in China. The Chinese think in terms of ethics and religion united.

Some of the Eclectic Societies have adopted some aspects of Christianity. But in the main they tend to express their attitude towards Christ or Christianity in terms of their ethical consciousness. Perhaps the most frequent criticism of Chinese Christians by non-Christians is that they are ethically inferior. And, according to my experience, when a group of thoughtful Christian Chinese try to express for themselves what Christianity means for them they do it in terms of life. Furthermore, the significance of Christ centers for Chinese Christians more in his ethical supremacy and character than in other aspects of his life

329. Chinese Recorder, November, 1926, pages 781-82.

and import. In other words, there is, according to my observations and impressions, a decided tendency among thoughtful Chinese Christians to express their Christian faith in terms of the ethical consciousness of their own people. The contents of this ethical consciousness have already been dealt with in various places in previous chapters.

How far, if at all, are the Chinese reacting to Christianity in terms of their religious experience? The Buddhists and Confucianists are, to some extent, imitating Christian methods. Here and there I have come across efforts to modify Christian worship to fit Chinese religious ideas. References on the part of Chinese Christians to the need for doing this seem, however, more in evidence than actual efforts to achieve it. Nevertheless Christianity has now come face to face with China's religious experience. The result is that a desire is emerging to express the Christian faith in the terms of this indigenous experience. In other words, thoughtful Chinese Christians have now reached that point in their thinking when they see Christianity in the light of the religious experience of their own people and are beginning to ask how it can be made indigenous by being, to some extent at least, expressed therein.

There is one aspect of the Christian religion which I have reserved for mention until this time. This has to do with a very important aspect of Chinese religious thinking. The attitude of some thoughtful Chinese thereto shows that they, at least, have reached a new point in their religious experience.

I refer to the Christian doctrine of the substitutionary atonement. I have not found in Chinese religious thought any doctrine corresponding absolutely to this. The Buddhists have, it is true, a theory of vicarious effort and supplementary merit. The benefits of this may be acquired through faith.[330] How far this is a vital factor in the religious life of the Chinese masses I do not know. But that this doctrine does not involve the absence of all moral striving on the part of the one desiring to take advantage of it is clear. It does not mean that an innocent person takes over the actual guilt of another. Neither do many western Christians, in the last analysis, think of salvation as something which comes to one with absolutely no moral effort on his part. For many of them hold that the acceptance of the benefits of the atonement, no matter how defined, can only be achieved when the individual soul *chooses* to accept it. This choice is an act of will that is itself a most significant moral effort. In other words in this case the availability of the atonement for the individual rests upon a moral act of his will.

Now the absence of this idea of the vicarious bearing of guilt from Chinese religious ideas is especially significant in view of the

330. Appendix V.

fact that vicarious suffering of the guilt of others is to some extent a feature of China's social consciousness. The following incident is a case in point. I have heard of others.

Some years ago two Japanese were killed by a mob during the construction of a railway in Kwangtung province. The case was reported settled as follows. The real murderers were not discovered. But justice was satisfied by the beheading of two men who acknowledged the crime, undertook blame for the village and expiated its guilt. The report of this expiation was made by a cowherd who accepted the substitution involved therein as perfectly natural and proper. The missionary, however, who retold the story was shocked at the injustice of the scheme. Probably all western Christians would be similarily shocked. Yet religiously many of them accept the same principle—the innocent bearing the guilt of others. Likewise I have observed Chinese Christian intelligentsia manifest a sort of shocked uncertainty at the idea of the substitutionary atonement as a scheme of human salvation. In family life, however, vicarious suffering is accepted as a perfectly fitting expression of filial piety. People may and should die for others.[331] Yet a difficulty arises in Chinese minds when the question of the guilt of one passing over to another is considered religiously. Whenever I have heard such intelligentsia discussing the atonement its chief significance for them seems to lie in its being a manifestation of ethical personality. Chinese religious experience, moreover, does not seem to connect God with the bearing of human guilt in any way. Man never gets free from his own moral responsibility. For another thus to bear his guilt, religiously speaking, seems to involve a violation of the ethical implications of his personality. Perhaps another explanation of this divergence in thought is the fact that the Chinese have rarely viewed such matters theologically. Furthermore, they have not in their religious experience so completely identified deity with humanity as is the case in Christian idealism. Neither have they tried to interpret deity in terms of their social consciousness as fully as, in this case, Christians of the past have done. This divergence in fundamental thinking explains in part why the eclectic societies do not appear to respond to the Christian idea of salvation.[332] Christ, also, tends to be thought of more as one who stimulates and helps men to achieve their maximum ethical possibilities rather than as one who does something for them. It is the charm and grandeur of his ethical personality which attracts and holds the thoughtful Chinese soul. At times this attraction becomes mystical. At this point Christianity is face to face with another one of China's mind-sets.

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331. Page 111.
332. Page 161.

For the masses religion may and usually is a way of escape from the results of violation of one's own moral responsibility. For these intelligentsia whom I have in mind it is a way of living. Insofar as in Chinese idealism the ethical nature back of all things corresponds to the nature of God, which it certainly does to some extent, such Chinese intelligentsia tend to interpret religion as man's efforts to live like God. To such the concept of religion as a "cooperative companionship"[333] with God would seem to have a more natural appeal than that of God just doing things for them.

How far the above divergence in religious thought will ultimately affect Christianity in China is unforeseeable. The Chinese may reinterpret Christianity mainly in terms of ethical effort and personality. On the other hand they may connect their religious concepts with their social practise of vicarious suffering. I am personally inclined to think that they will follow the West in eschewing the practise of permitting individuals to bear the guilt of other individuals or of their communities. I am inclined to think, moreover, that they will not transfer this notion into the religious sphere at all. When they do their own theological thinking they will interpret religion in terms of ethical relationships between men and men, and men and God, and consider the aim of religion to be to develop, in cooperation with God, the full possibilities of human personalities. Such seems to be the logical inference from much that has been said in previous chapters. In any event Christianity is beginning to come face to face with China's religious experience in a new and vital way.

We may at least conclude that there are apparent the beginnings of the reinterpretation of Christianity in terms of Chinese experience. That is an additional reason for thinking that Christianity will survive in China.

And yet even so the survival of Christianity in China is not finally assured. China will endure. At least China will endure as long as any existing racial or political group. In order that Christianity may survive with it there are, it seems to me, some aspects of Christian idealism and effort on which a much more determined emphasis must be laid. Such an emphasis will make the Christian religion more clear and meaningful to the Chinese heart and mind. These aspects of Christianity are the emerging conditions of its survival. Frankly I do not think Christianity in China will stand or fall with an acceptance or a passing by of its special theological aspect of salvation as noted above. Western Christians do not agree thereon. The presence of this social practise of the vicarious bearing of human guilt might help the Chinese masses to understand Christianity when so presented. The intelligentsia might pass it by. Both attitudes obtain in the Christian West. The

333. Pages 125 and 141.

points made below, however, are it seems to me essential conditions of the future survival of Christianity in China.

Christianity is already within the consciousness of the Chinese people. What are some of the attitudes that will help its roots bore deeper therein and release through Christian cooperation the best in their own experience?

In the first place western Christians need to realize that China is not pagan in the sense in which that term is usually understood by them. Paganism is defined differently by different people. Insofar as the Chinese are idolatrous and religion is a contractual affair between men and various deities, China is pagan. Christianity, however, still shows the influence of paganism in its vestigial use of images. In the sense of a desire for power and material affluence China's civilization is no more pagan than that of the West. Power and pleasure seem to be the dominant ideals of western civilization.[334] But these are not, as we have attempted to show in previous chapters, the dominating ideals of either Chinese or Christian idealists. Neither Chinese nor "Christian" peoples rise to their ideals.

The paganism that early Christianity set itself most definitely against was the worship and exaltation of physical pleasure and natural desires. China is not pagan in this sense at all. Chinese like Christian idealism rises above this level. Phallic symbolism is exceedingly rare in China and phallic worship, if it ever existed therein, has disappeared long since. Any notion, therefore, that China is pagan in this latter sense should be discarded. Chinese idealism differs little from the Christian so far as it affects human conduct. Religiously speaking there are, as we have noted, differences in emphasis. China is dominated much more by ideals of human duty than of pleasure of any kind. The pursuit of pleasure is not embodied in the prevalent Chinese idealism. I doubt that in the ordinary life of the Chinese it is as prominent as it now is in the "Christian" West. The discoveries made by scientists in the West minister altogether too much to the upbuilding of power and the increase of pleasure. At the worst we might say that Christians in China and the West can combine to fight the common pagan elements in their respective civilizations. We may cease looking on China as specially pagan.

It quite logically follows, in the second place, that in approaching China's civilization and especially Chinese idealism we should do so in the attitude of appreciation and not of depreciation. We should cease to view it from the sand-hill of the superiority-complex. As a matter of fact a superiority-complex proves nothing as to the real worth of what is advocated by those who stand on it. Modern Christians have

334. The Reconstruction of Religion, Ellwood, page 100.

to no inconsiderable extent discarded the idea of the superiority of their civilization. They do not, however, always realize that to many Chinese this abandonment of the superiority of their civilization makes any vocal insistence on the superiority of their idealism sound somewhat forced and hollow. The Chinese are inclined to view Christian idealism against the background of western "Christian" practise. Christianity is sometimes rightly defined as being both a way of thought and a way of life. To admit that western civilization is not yet Christian is to admit that Christian idealism has not yet succeeded in permeating western civilization to the extent that it is dominant therein. It is little use vociferously advocating the superiority of Christian idealism under such conditions. It must prove itself.

Two somewhat undesirable results emerge from insistence upon superiority as such in idealism. First it induces an inferiority-complex in those who listen. Second it makes an attitude of mutual appreciation difficult. Both work against securing an open mind for the Christian message. If the superiority of the Christian message is not self-proving it is no use talking about it. If it is, talking is unnecessary. To base the Christian conviction on a superiority-complex is, therefore, in my judgement, to ground it on quick-sand. Something more will be said about the basis of the Christian conviction as to service in China in the final chapter. In the meantime I want to make it clear that appreciation of Chinese idealism is an essential factor in reconciling the Chinese to the presence of the Christian movement in China. It is also a necessary aspect of cooperation between thoughtful Chinese and Christian workers. On the basis of what has been pointed out in previous chapters this attitude of appreciation should not be difficult to develop.

But Christians, whatever they do with regard to reconciling their theological and denominational differences, must, in the third place, definitely and clearly aim to set up a *civilization worthy of and commensurate with their idealism.* For western Christians to discard their civilization either in part or in whole is simply to leave their idealism in the clouds. As thus seen it seems to be an idealism without a social dynamic; a dead dynamo. The socially minded Chinese do not take to the idea of a religion that ends with the saving of the individual. They think of saved individuals as together saving society. They want, therefore, a personal faith that is socially dynamic.

Christians must, then, find a working solution of their uncertainties as to war, family and international life. I have participated in many discussions with Christians on these and allied problems. I have never yet met with a group of western Christians that had one mind on them. At the moment China's chief difficulties center in just these uncertainties. It is not enough, therefore, for western Christians to

discard their own civilization as unsatisfactory in these regards. They must work for one that is satisfactory. Christians differ about Christ's idea of the Kingdom he proposed to set up. One thing is clear. It was meant to be set up on earth. There must, therefore, be such relationships as Christian economic relationships, Christian government and Christian international and interracial cooperation. These Christians *must* achieve!

All this means an inspiring search. Many human beings live on altogether too low life levels. The Christians, if their idealism is to count, must help lift them onto higher levels. Christ headed a movement for a world "patterned upon the relationships and values of the family life."[335] The Chinese are beginning to react to Christian idealism in terms of their family life also. There are, as I have indicated, some differences in emphasis here of considerable importance.[336] But both Christ and Chinese idealists viewed life and religion in terms of family relationships. It ought not to be difficult for Christians to decide on the common human values and set out together to realize them. Physically humans should live in a state of healthy comfort. Spiritually they should live in cooperative companionship with God. These are the two ideals of the Kingdom. Neither should be ignored. They are the keynotes of a Christian civilization. In these terms must Christians definitely espouse the cause of a *Christian civilization*, a world civilization. The basis for such a world civilization is found in the words of Mo Tzu "Look on the country of others as on your own."[337] In this way did he apply the Golden Rule to international relationships before Christianity arose. At this point Chinese and Christian idealism may unite to work for a world civilization.

All the above is particularly significant for western Christians. Christ spoke from the economic level of the common people. If he called anybody to change their level of life he called to the rich to lower theirs. The Christian West is rich. It dare not call to those on a lower level of life to be Christian and stay down. It must clearly set out to lift them up or just as clearly decide to come down. The latter is probably impossible, practically speaking. The western Christian Movement must, therefore, definitely set out to raise the life levels of the peoples it seeks to influence. It must socialize its evangel more generally than has yet been done. Three levels of Christian effort are discernable. First, that of leading men into a relationship with God that makes them worthy of membership in the Kingdom. Second, that whereon Christians work together to improve social relationships. The Christian Movement in China has made many beginnings on this level.

335. The Reconstruction of Religion, Ellwood, page 92.
336. Chapter V.
337. 視人之國若己國，墨子，天志中

The third level is that whereon Christians outline a Christian civilization and set out to achieve it. This is the next task. The League of Nations is proof that the world is seeking for it politically. Another world movement seems to be under way also. Here and there one gets hints of a socialistic revolution which in some of its aspects is anti-religious or non-religious. If religion is to count in this modern world it must meet this world need and overcome this world movement for an irreligious revolution. Both these movements constitute a clear challenge to Christians to set out on the march towards a Christian world civilization.

This is a tremendous task. The modern scientist sets out to unravel impossibilities. To outline and set out for a world Christian civilization looks like an impossibility. In making possible the seemingly impossible Christians must emulate the spirit of the scientist, in this regard similar to the spirit of Christ. If they would be Christlike Christians must challenge the impossible! The Kingdom must be set up! Western Christians in China must say as a group: "We are here to lift men's bodies as well as their souls! We dare no longer try to save a soul and leave it in a decaying body! We are the evangels of Christlike living in a Christlike civilization!"

In the fourth place, the Christian Movement in China must make its spiritual values and dynamic preeminent. The universalizing love of Christ must be its dominant driving force. Only this can make the drive for a *Christian* civilization successful. What is the most prominent characteristic of the Christian Movement in China? After long rumination thereupon its *philanthropic group propaganda* stands out most clearly in my mind. Its motives are mixed. Loyalty to Christ conflicts with loyalty to denominations. Christ left no commission to denominationalize China. Yet that is what many Christians have tried and are still trying to do. Such have confused the call. Altruistic friendliness must become the dominant note of Christian effort. What Christians do in China must be done for pure love of God and man. They must get above philanthropic group propaganda, beneficial though this has been.

Here is where that superiority-complex comes in again. Each Christian sect is convinced of the superiority of its message. In consequence the significance of Christ is often obscured. If mere conviction of message-superiority is a necessary basis of Christian service in China each group has an equal right to its own superiority-complex. But they conflict with one another. Thus does the superiority-complex clog up the machinery. The Christian Movement in China must rise above any superiority-complex as such.

Christians may go on disagreeing theologically. They probably will. The Chinese, as we have indicated, may participate in this Christian

diversion. But if Christians desire to convince the soul of China they must manifest *unity of spirit*. They most do more than talk about it. They must show this unity of spirit in their approach to the great questions of life. They may disagree about the nature and being of ultimate deity. They must, however, show that faith is an integrating and not a disintegrating social influence.

"Christian unity" has had hard sailing in China. The Centenerary Conference (1907) talked more about it than modern conferences do. Plans were put forth for the integration of denominations and the integration of all Christians through a system of federations. Neither has solved the problem. The scheme for federations, looked at from the viewpoint of all Christians in China, was less successful than that for denominational integration. Both schemes were too alien. They did not arise in Chinese life and psychology. In recent years, however, Chinese Christians tend to get together in their communities and geographical sections. Retreats have become the vogue. These are movements for the expression of Christian unity of spirt. In them Christians rise to the higher level of adventurous love. None of the movements for Christian unity in the Chinese Church are yet national. At the present moment the most unifying program in China is that of the Kuo Ming Tang. Its avowed principles are a combination of Christian and Chinese idealism.[338] This problem must be solved. Christianity must become above all other influences one for the unification of the spirit around the one great spiritual personality. The last meeting of the National Christian Council (October, 1926) definitely moved in this direction. This is an encouraging fact. This unity of spirit is the first requisite of a Christian civilization.

Christian liberty, also, must be made more real. Freedom of conscience and thought must be more than air-castles. Christianity must be more than a negative liberalizing influence. Christian sects have compromised. They leave each other alone. Christians must rise above this. The privilege of sincere and free thinking on all religious problems must be conceded in a way that does not break the unity of the spirit among Christians. They must learn to think fearlessly together. No intellectual formulas should hinder the free moving of love. Christians who cannot commune in thought or worship do not show mutual love. Intellectual repression or theological insolation does not permit of the free flowing of love. Whether Christians can always agree intellectually or not they must always love. Christian liberty means the free manifestation of love among and through Christians. To both Chinese and Christian idealists the free interchange of love is essential. Christians must learn how to investigate and experiment upon the various aspects of life and religion in mutual love. One cannot see

338. Chinese Recorder, November, 1926, page 774.

how idealism can be carried farther than Christians have carried it in the unification of ultimate values in human life as set forth in Christ. Yet there is still much unexplored ground for discovery as to what that means in actual living and thought. The Christian way of thought is still inconclusive in many regards. Mutual love for one another and a dominating love for God will give power to investigate and experiment together. Thus can science and religion work together. Thus may Christians live adventurously the boundless love of Christ. They must *together* seek the truth in the mind, spirit and character of Christ. This is the core of Christian freedom.

In the fifth place, the Christian Movement must be recognized as always aiming at the supreme values. Christians intend to do this. But they often appear to be more intent on building up denominational empires than their espoused supreme values. These efforts to build up denominational empires are often tinged with imperialistic motives. All Christian effort must aim first at producing ethical personalities. This is a supreme value in both Chinese and Christian idealism. Investigation and experiment as to *how* to achieve them is needed at precisely this time. The ethical consciousness of Chinese Christians was declared weak in 1922.[339] Evidently, if this is true, this value of ethical personality is not being realized adequately in the Chinese Church. The Christian Movement has been over-intent upon building up strong propagandic institutions and organizations as such. Christian effort must aim primarily at leading men into vital experience of God. It is sometimes said that Christianity has survived because of its intolerance and exclusiveness. If intolerance and exclusiveness are really prominent factors in the survival of Christianity then the smaller and less tolerant Christian sects in China have the greatest chance of survival! This is not my conclusion! I incline to the opinion that early Christian intolerance was directed mostly against the debasing gods and practises of phallic paganism. In this sense Christianity must always be intolerant. It must *fight* everything that debases men. But I do not feel that even this degree of justified intolerance explains the survival of Christianity. To me the chief survival value in early Christianity was in its emphasis upon the personal experience of God as revealed in Christ. It is its simplification and centralization of the religious life that keeps Christianity vital. It is precisely this, as I have shown, that China needs.[340] Thus Christ's chief message meets China's chief need. China's need is a human need. "Christian" civilizations exhibit the same need.

In other words, the chief conditions of the survival of Christianity in China call for a refocusing of Christian attention on fundamental

339. The Chinese Church, 1922, page 207.
340. Page 142.

values. If Christianity in China can become more truly Christlike it will survive. Furthermore it is true that usually when a religious revival has arisen in and through Christianity it has been because in some way the message as delivered had a special significance for the common people. That was true of Christ. It was true of the Reformation and the Wesleyan revival, to note two other cases in point. The Kuo Ming Tang is capitalizing the same human factor. That Christianity should be clearly recognized as being out for the good of the common people is another argument for the open and avowed Christian espousal of a Christian civilization. It is an indispensable emphasis in the naturalization of Christianity in China. It is the great Christian adventure!

In conclusion, then, we may summarize an answer to the question, "Will Christianity survive in China," as follows. The Christian religion has geographically and educationally dug deeper into the mass-life of China than ever before. It has dug so deeply into the conciousness of China that it has set up vital strains therein. This is the first step in the conscious realization of the Christian Message by the Chinese mind as a whole. It has reached the point of awareness. Furthermore the cultural, social and religious experience of China is beginning to respond to Christianity in several vital ways. These are steps towards the interpretation of Christian offerings in terms of Chinese experience. Christianity's chances of survival in China are thus better than ever before. But its future is not yet safe! The Christian religion can only survive in China if and when its dynamic and message are clearly revealed in Christlike *living* in all human contacts. It will survive only in so far as the Chinese people respond with all their strength to its call. To help secure this response western Christians must in their efforts in China reveal above all the dynamic value of their own cooperative companionship with God. A response of the Chinese people to the Christian religion that will insure its survival in their life involves a conjunction of Chinese with Christian idealism. The Chinese cannot respond fully to the Christian religion and cut themselves off from their own experience. Such a conjunction of Chinese and Christian idealism will mean much for the world. China, under the strains we have mentioned, is disturbing the world. When the Chinese soul, under the banner of loyalty to Christ, puts the strength of its idealism into the hope of and effort for a Christian civilization, it will help lift the world. In short the survival of Christianity in China is linked up with the achievement of common ideals of a world kingdom motivated by the spirit of Christ and based on a vital personal experience of God. The particular task of Western Christians is to see that these two latter requisites of a Christian civilization dominate their efforts in China.

CHAPTER XIII.

Finding a Dauntless Conviction

THIS chapter is an inevitable afterthought. Chinese Christians and non-Christians have a new awareness of their social, religious and national heritage and of their destiny. A new self-determination is taking the helm of a new self-realization. They are seeking for that spiritual and political democracy for which their ancient sages sought and of which they have heard so much from their modern associates. In time Chinese idealism, as outlined to some extent in previous chapters, will be combined with that of their Christian fellows to build up a Christian world civilization. This involves a new approach to the problem of setting up Christianity in China. It calls, also, for a new philosophy of western Christian participation in the further development of the Christian religion in China.

Just how Christianity, a religion of the East, shall be presented to this nation of the East now swirling in the maelstrom of a modern world, Chinese Christians themselves will finally have to decide. To this problem they are just waking up. The clamant demands of a new world are driving them to new efforts. How long it will take for them to express their Christian faith in terms of their own experience cannot be foretold. Preparation for this inevitable aspect of their religious development has been almost left out of the training given them by their western Christian teachers in the past. It is, however, one of the first tasks of a China-centric Christian church.

Present Chinese nationalistic aspirations are speeding up the process of making the Chinese Church China-centric. This is dislocating certain predilections of western Christian workers in China. Neither the Chinese Christians nor their western colleagues can at the moment outline their future relationships. It is clear that they must continue to work together if the vision of a Christian world civilization is to be realized. For western Christians one special question emerges amidst these rapidly developing readjustments, "What shall be the basis of the western Christian's conviction that he is called to service in China?" Does the new day dawning for the Christian religion in China call for a more dynamic basis for this conviction?

Perhaps the majority of western Christians will say, as they have heretofore done, "The basis of this conviction is of necessity in the superiority of the Christian message!" But there are western Christian workers vitally interested in serving Jesus in China whom this approach now leaves cold. It also fails to create spiritual fervor in the Chinese. To talk about superiority as such in the face of the modern Chinese urge for equality results in a certain disconcertion of the spirit of both. Jesus did not present his message from that angle.

The problem has been recently discussed in an analytical and discriminating way.[341] There is, according to this article, a "frontier" between Christian and other idealisms which should not be ignored. With this I agree.[342] But does it therefore follow, as is ably argued by Dr. Frick, the writer, that the conviction for Christian world endeavor must be based *primarily* on one's consciousness of the uniqueness or superiority of the message as such? Must the western Christian worker, in order to be willing to make his contribution to the life of China, necessarily stand on a superiority sand fort? It is admitted, by Dr. Frick and many others, that this conviction of the superiority of the message as such must not pass over into any notion that the civilization of the messenger is equally superior. This notion has, of course, been advocated by missionaries in the past. This admission, however, inevitably raises the question as to how it is that a superior religious message is concurrent and concomitant with an inferior civilization? A religious message presented under such conditions seems to lack a sufficient dynamic to make it a civilizing influence in agreement therewith. One cannot thus separate the messengers of a religious message, deemed superior, from the inferior civilization of the messengers and expect the hearers of the message to be otherwise than puzzled! It is in just this condition that many thoughtful Orientals now find themselves.

It is also frequently held that this conviction of the superiority of the message will be reflected to the messenger, so far as he is really bringing that message. This can only mean, psychologically speaking, that when the Christian messenger's conviction is based on the superiority of his message it will inevitably involve a certain degree of consciousness of his own personal superiority. This is the crux of the problem. This sense of personal superiority will be for some, keen and dominating, for others dim and submerged. But it spells spiritual danger for all. It is difficult for a Christian worker to be secretive about even a dim sense of personal superiority. Such an attitude is the opposite of secretive. It plays into the hands of the instinct for assertion *over* others. It will inevitably peep through the window of the imagination somewhere and somehow. To base the Christian conviction for service, therefore, on the superiority of the message as such is to involve a subtle personal danger for the messenger. Overmuch talk about the superiority of the message as such, a constant centering of attention thereupon, or even rare reference to it, may easily induce a certain spiritual self-satisfaction in the messenger. Add then to the present sensitiveness of the Chinese as to all emphasis on superiority as such, this subtle danger to the spiritual life of the western Christian worker,

341. Is a Conviction of the Superiority of his Message Essential to the Missionary? Heinrich Frick. International Review of Missions, October, 1926, page 625.

342. Chapter 11 and pages 167, 175, 181, 183.

and one begins to long for some other basis for the Christian conviction than a sense of superiority of the message which may also be accompanied by a subtle sense of superiority in the messenger.

For some of us who desire to continue working in China to seek to base our conviction on the superiority aspect of our message seems to be an endeavor to recharge a spent battery. That in the past the conviction of those who have worked in China has been based on their attitude towards the superiority aspects of their message is evident enough. But insofar as this superiority-conviction as such is reflected in the personal estimate of the worker of himself it, to that extent, tends to reduce the Christian conviction to a superiority-complex. A superiority-complex is not a good foundation for a dauntless faith. For such a conviction easily suffers the fate of all complexes. It is easily frustrated. With equal facility it can turn into a fear-complex.

Much has been said of late of the weakening of the missionary morale. Its full extent and significance cannot be conclusively analysed. No special study has been made of it. It does, however, correlate with the rise of the independent and critical spirit in China. This puts the missionary and everything Christian under scrutiny. To some extent Christian workers also have come under criticism. The rising number of Chinese Christian leaders appears to lessen the demand for missionaries. It has seemed to me that this weakening of missionary morale is due in large part to the undermining of the subtle sense of superiority that adheres to the messenger of a message viewed as superior mainly. The trend of recent events in China has been precisely in the direction of challenging this assumed and hidden superiority of the missionary, which is, for many, the basis of conviction. In other words the Christian conviction as based on the sense of personal superiority as the bearer of a superior message has not been able to withstand the strain of criticism. In such cases this weakening of morale is due to the frustration of a superiority complex. Missionaries must get above this danger. The superiority conviction is inadequate.

To base the missionary conviction on the notion of superiority as such is to base it on a sand fort. A sand fort crumbles easily. Before the advancing waves of China's nationalism convictions based on superiority emphases alone cannot stand. To change the metaphor, the conviction based on these notions of message and personal superiority, is easily chilled when it meets the present urge of the Chinese for equality. One often hears, also, of western Christians saying, "Well! If the Chinese are our equals they no longer need our help." Such a remark is directly due to the undermining or crumbling of a conviction based on the centering of attention on the superiority aspects of the Christian message and its reflected sense of racial and personal superiority. Even a weak sense of personal superiority in a messenger as

reflected from the superiority aspects of his message is apt to coquette with the human tendency to self-complacency and self-esteem. Self-complacency is easily blown up, and as easily pricked. Such self-complacency will not nerve one for the struggle that religion in both China and the world is at present undergoing. The persistent search for the basic elements of all religious systems is bringing all religious claims to superiority under a revealing scrutiny.

All the great religions base their claim to human acceptance and loyalty on their superiority aspects. In thus attempting to base their missionary conviction on a sense of the superiority of their religious idealism as such, Christians are simply following in the track of all religions. They ought to do better than this. Furthermore, this sense of the personal superiority of a religious messenger usually joins hands with the robust sense of racial superiority. Such a combination does not prepare one to be a citizen of a spiritual democracy. Some other approach is needed.

To base the missionary conviction on the superiority of the message as such has several distinct disadvantages. Here are some such disadvantages as I have observed them.

The missionary is to be a minister. His spiritual exemplar himself came not to be ministered unto but to minister. A minister must always wear the cloak of humility. A cloak of humility easily shrinks when washed in a reflected sense of personal superiority. Even a weak sense of reflected personal superiority will feel cramped in the simple cloak of genuine humility. Thus to base the Christian conviction on a sense of superiority of message and messenger creates a conflict in the spiritual life. One can with difficulty feel humble and superior at the same time. A reflected sense of personal superiority works against humility.

Love is an essential quality of character and loving an indispensable aspect of Christlike human relations. If blood is the life of the body in any sense, then love is the life of the spirit. A Christian whose manner of living frustrates love is suffering from spiritual anemia. Chinese and Christian idealists agree on this. Now genuine love is essentially an equalizer. It calls for an interchange of experience that flows freely and fully only when those sharing the experience are on an ethical level. Can love flow freely when one tries to love down and the other must love up? Charity and the dispensing of favors can flow under such conditions. But ethical love presupposes an essential equality of those loving. To approach others on the presumed higher level of a reflected superiority may easily make one more conscious of his superiority than his need for, and obligation to, love. It is humanly almost impossible to think of ourselves as in some sense superior without expecting some recognition of that superiority. A conviction

involving a reflected sense of personal superiority thus tends to cause a conflict between itself and the claims of love. This is precisely what often happens. Love should issue in comradeship. To stand on a superiority sand fort makes this difficult at all times and, when the sand fort is very high, impossible.

"Benefactors," those who expected special consideration in view of what they handed down to others, and "they that have authority," were held up by Jesus as being the exact opposites of what he aimed to be, and were cited as precise examples of what his followers should not be.[343] But those who work in the light of a reflected personal superiority easily become dispensors of favors and wielders of authority. They favor spiritual cloaks made out of paternalism. They become jealous of the superiority of their message as such, and easily jealous of their own reflected superiority. They feel justified in taking steps to insure a proper recognition of this superiority as such. Like the bearers of a "superior" civilization they readily deem it their duty to be protectors thereof as well as messengers.

If the West has any favorite "sin" it is the love of authority. Having something deemed "superior," its possessors feel that they have the right to push it to others. In Christian circles this becomes the obligation of trusteeship. And so out of over-attention on the superiority of the message and the reflected superiority of the messenger, grows easily a feeling that the bearer of the message must wield authority to insure a recognition of its uniqueness, as though this ought not to be self-evident, and as if it must not be self-proving to have any dynamic value at all! In any event, on the basis of this type of spiritual psychology, the representatives of what is deemed a spiritual democracy easily fall into imitating those whom Jesus held up as examples of what they were not to be. Somehow one finds it hard to get this modern western Christian emphasis on the superiority aspects of the messenger out of Jesus' instruction to his disciples. He knew them too well! Does advocacy of this superiority-conviction mean, therefore, that the West has reinterpreted the missionary motive in terms of the western love of authority? Does it mean that commercial and political ethics have entwined themselves in missionary ethics? It looks like it.

To attempt to base the missionary conviction on the superiority aspects of the message as such and on the reflected superiority of the messenger, tends also to center spiritual attention on only one aspect of that message. Christianity is, as has been indicated, a way of life as well as a way of thought. This superiority approach tends to center attention on the way of thought alone. It is the superiority of the

343. Luke 22:15.

idealism as such which looms up rather than the personality from whom the idealism radiates. What men have thought about Jesus thus receives more attention than himself. Christianity then becomes loyalty to an idealism as such rather than loyalty to a person. Explanations about Jesus fill the mind more than Jesus. But Jesus is bigger than any explanation about him.

The urge to keep "pure" explanations about Jesus allows him to slip into the background of the heart. So we find various denominational groups standing on their own particular superiority sand fort and contending vigorously for their "own viewpoint of truth"!

Loyalty to explanations about Jesus does not lead to articulate loyalty to him. Loyalty becomes bogged in metaphysics. When the Chinese are urged to be loyal to an ethical personality they understand the call. But when they are urged to be loyal to varying explanations about that personality they get lost in a metaphysical maze. Jesus did not ask for loyalty to a certain explanation about himself, but for a lifting loyalty to his Father and the Father of all men.

After all what is the *truth* that missionaries must keep *pure?* As to the truth of the Christian way of thought they can give no one answer. The truth of the way of life is, however, already apparent. *Love is the great truth.* It is the keynote to God's nature and man's behavior.

Light is made up of seven colors. But light results only when the seven colors are merged into something more inclusive than each one taken separately. Christian idealism is made up of a number of aspects. But it only operates as a way of life when all these are merged into love. Christians truly enlighten or influence the world only when they show it how to love. There may be a difference of elementary color as between Chinese and Christian idealism: but they both aim to operate through the light of love. The trouble with this psychology of the missionary superiority-conviction is that it concentrates conviction on a way of thinking and obscures the way of loving. It does not hit the bull's eye of Christian faith and practise. Many western Christians in and out of China fall into loving their own reflected superiority more than their fellowmen and God. For such the superiority-conviction has worked the wrong way. I am not sure it can be trusted to work any other way.

Thus viewed the basing of the missionary conviction on the superiority-psychology creates a conflict with the ideal of a spiritual democracy. The growing self-consciousness of the Chinese Church is making this conflict apparent. A more Christlike psychology is needed. How might such a psychology be developed? How may missionaries in China avoid the danger of using their self-esteem to blow up their self-complacency? It may be said that the danger involved is rather

subtle and hence difficult to realize. True enough. But that there is danger in this superiority-conviction psychology is clear enough. A superiority-conviction is not the *best* medium for manifesting the Christ-like ethic.

Before giving my answer to the above questions and so indicating what should, in my judgement, be the basis of the modern missionary conviction, I wish to outline briefly those motives which I have heard held up as the driving forces of the world Christian movement. They are minor rather than major motives. Most of them are rooted in the superiority-conviction. I have a feeling that some of the difficulties now facing missionary effort and lessening its support are due to the fact that the motives relied on have been the minor rather than the major ones. In any event I feel that these motives must be merged into driving forces bigger and more compelling if the world Christian movement and international Christian effort in China is to go on. What then are the motives which have been prominent in the missionary movement during my experience as a missionary?

First, there is the denominational urge. The special experience and emphasis of each denomination has seemed to be of such compelling importance that many missionaries have come to China—some still do—to make their own views of truth and their own group dominant. This is the imperialistic psychology. Sometimes this urge is so strong that the missionaries of a particular group act as an entirely independent unit. They are set on establishing a superior spiritual empire. They imagine that they alone know the divine secret that will achieve this! To such heights is the superiority sand fort raised in some groups! This motive is rooted in group interest. The growing need for Christian unity of some kind indicates that group interest as a motive is almost spent. No denomination has such a grasp of spiritual truth, no matter how viewed, as to be fit for the dominance of a spiritual world empire or worthy of eternal life as a special group. The era of denominational empires is passing. They must pool their truth in a common loyalty or prepare their own obituary. Something bigger and more compelling than group preservation is needed for the Christian movement in China if it is to achieve its inherent possibilities.

Second, there is the motive of extending the benefits of a "Christian" civilization to those without them. Usually this motive is implicit rather than explicit. Yet I have seen it stated in missionary policies. With it went the aim—always soothing to a normal self-complacency—to lift other civilizations to the level of that of the missionary. In the main it is a philanthropic motive. Nevertheless it is one that helps to inflate that reflected personal superiority of the messenger of a superior message. China still wants some aspects of "Christian" civilizations. But she no longer wants them handed down from anywhere or by

anybody. The emerging Christian doubt that any existing civilization is truly Christian is accompanied by a strong tendency to list this motive among the relics of missionary museums. In any event it is not compelling enough for the Christianization of modern China.

Third, there is the necessity motive. This has two aspects. The obligation to carry out the Great Commission is one. The other is the urgent need of non-Christians for the Christian plan of salvation. Both of these urgencies still operate. The Great Commission, however, is no longer a commission to one group of people to go to another or others with its particular message. It is merging into a call to a *fellowship* composed of all races and peoples to permeate society and build up a new civilization. Carrying it out is no longer a responsibility that rests mainly on western Christians. It has become the call to an international fellowship to build up a way of living among all men.

Once missionary leaders thought in terms of one human generation in meeting man's urgent need of the Christian message. But another generation comes into view before the current one has been evangelized. Man's urgent need of God as revealed in Jesus is as great as ever. But the concept of "salvation" is changing. It is more inclusive. It now includes society as well as the individual member thereof. It will certainly have to do this in China. This Commission cannot be achieved only through individuals at a definite point in time accepting something said about Jesus by a particular messenger. It involves a long educational process in order that ethical likeness to God may be at least begun in those who accept the message presented, and be dynamic in their social life also. We do not, therefore, talk so much of converting the "heathen" as we used to. The urgency of salvation in the old sense is not as keen as formerly. The way of attaining it in the new sense is not yet clearly outlined. A pause in thinking has resulted. Both these old aspects of the necessity motive have registered a weakening in urgency. They still have their place. But they need to be restated in terms of a more compelling vision.

Fourth, there is the self-expression motive. It was rarely so defined. Yet the call to western Christian youth to enter service in other lands because of the boundless openings for personal leadership was after all an appeal to the human desire for self-expression. It fitted in well with a sense of reflected personal superiority. In a measure it has worked successfully. Often the appeal was so presented as to fill the prospective missionary's mind with visions of just that kind of prominence in leadership so satisfying to all humans. While listening to missionary appeals one sometimes got the impression that competition in one's chosen line of service was scant and almost negligible in "mission" lands. This used to be true. It is true no longer. Perhaps the former overemphasis on this motive accounts in part for the rapid

falling off in the number of youth interested in serving God abroad now that it is no longer usable. In any event it is a motive that must be displaced. To talk about basing one's conviction on the superiority-complex in any sense when the motive for self-expression is becoming spent creates uncertainty in the minds of those interested in foreign service.

Fifth, there is the self-vitalization motive. This harks back to the self-preservation motive. Popularly put it called for support of the missionary enterprise as one essential factor in developing the life of the church, denomination or individual to whom the appeal was made. To be thus obedient to the Great Commission was presented as essential to spiritual vitality. As a motive it is not essentially altruistic. That may be one reason why its driving power seems to have spent itself. Another reason is that the idea of the self-realization of western Christian churches is being merged slowly into the bigger one of the vitalization of a Christian world fellowship that will aim to remake society and civilization. The full significance of this change of focus is not yet generally apparent. It has not yet been put very definitely into missionary educational efforts. Nevertheless the vision of a vitalized world fellowship of Christians will have to take the place of this motive of self-vitalization ere the full resources, spiritual and economic, of Christians can be tapped sufficiently to meet present needs.

There is something in all these motives worth retaining. The denominational willingness to serve the world; the cross-fertilization of civilizations; obedience to the urge of Jesus to share with all men what is deemed valuable in one's own social inheritance; the urge to meet man's need for God; self-expression in altruistic effort; the self-vitalizing influence of a challenging task; all these have permanent value. How may we insure that they may attain their maximum manifestation? How may they be linked on to the major driving forces?

As a matter of fact these motives, which seem to me to have been those held up most often and perhaps made most prominent in missionary appeals of the last quarter of a century, can be reduced to three. (1) The necessity motive. (2) The charity motive. (3) The personal enrichment motive. They will probably continue in some form. But we need to change the modes of expressing them. The feeling of *oughtness* must be merged into an overwhelming desire to live love. The charitable attitude must become reciprocal love. In place of the desire for personal enrichment of the spirit as secured by giving what we have or leading others, we need to seek to enter into a bigger experience of God through sharing our experience and goods with all other men. To secure these western Christians need to redirect their spiritual attention. They must put the major motives first and get in the stream of their dynamic urge. To do this they need to seek the threefold

dynamic. This threefold dynamic is my answer to the questions asked above.

Nothing in this threefold dynamic is new. To make a sick man well nature must put something into its proper place or enable some organ to function fully and properly. Blood can, it is true, be passed from a well to a sick person. Such transfused blood may stay the failing of his powers. Yet it can only, in the last analysis, stimulate the sick body to produce again its own blood. Failing this death results. To develop a healthy spiritual conviction the missionary must get down off the superiority sand fort. It plays too easily into the hands of those tendencies which undermine spiritual robustness. But to develop a robust conviction that does not base itself on any kind of superiority-complex the missionary does not necessarily need something new. He needs to give their proper place to driving forces already known to him and within his reach.

Small things misplaced cause dire results. A bubble of air in the blood is something useful misplaced. Death is the result. To realize the uniqueness of what you have is good: and it is necessary to be sure that the eye is on the real uniqueness. But to make this realization the center of thought is to misplace it. For the missionary to think of himself in terms of uniqueness is disastrous. It becomes something good misplaced.

What then is this threefold spiritual dynamic which promises to work better than attention on the superiority-aspects of the message as such, and will lead one above the dangers lurking in the notion that the messenger also becomes in some sense superior? This is a practical question: for those who cannot serve God in China unless they feel themselves superior will find it difficult to stand steady and hold on there under the new conditions developing.

This threefold spiritual dynamic is composed of three spiritual forces. (1) Personal loyalty. (2) The urge of companionship. (3) The practise of sharing. Put even more simply these three spiritual driving forces are, (1) Personal devotion to God as known through Jesus, (2) Life lived in the spirit of Jesus, (3) The interchange of all life values.

The first two have, of course, often been held up in connection with the motives outlined above. But in my experience they have *not been steadily dominant* in missionary appeals. They have been submerged in the psychology of those who were taught that they were sent forth to stand in the spot light of a reflected superiority to proclaim and protect superiorities. These driving forces should themselves also be the *primary objectives* of the Christian life. This means a union of motive and aim.

Neither has the third driving force been entirely overlooked. But it needs a wider application. Christian sharing has been looked on too much as a handing down by those in a superior position to those less well off. Perhaps this was inevitable. But it must now be displaced by the psychology of sharing between spiritual equals.

Brief comments will be made on each of the aspects of this three-fold spiritual dynamic.

There is need of a driving force for the individual life. There is no way of stimulating people to do things that have no meaning for themselves. How, then, may each individual life be most fully released in lifting endeavor? Personal loyalty to God as known through and in Jesus is the best answer. Western Christian life needs a shift of emphasis right at this point. It needs to focus its spiritual attention first on the ethical personality at the heart of Christian idealism. Such a focusing of spiritual attention fits in with the Chinese emphasis on ethical personality as the fundamental factor in social and political life. Some westerners aver that Chinese political idealism is utterly impracticable at this point. Such cannot conceive of a life dynamic that centers on spiritual values. Nevertheless human beings do more and strive harder under the urge of loyalty to persons than under any other influence. People can be called on to die for persons when facts, theories and causes may leave them cold. Our militarists know this. Such causes as people dare to die for usually have at their center a dynamic personality.

Western Christian faith in denominational causes is lessening. This is partly due to the waning of the influence of those personalities who initiated them. Denominational fervor does not promise to keep the missionary enterprise going. A revival of personal loyalty to Jesus is needed. The major stimulus to life is the sun. Without the sun the soil would soon be icebound and man a corpse. Only the compelling urge of the dynamic personality of Jesus can articulate and release the spiritual powers of man. That is because he shows how men may touch the compelling personality back of all things.

This dynamic of personal loyalty works, or should work, always along one line-ethical likeness to him in whom the loyalty centers. Only along this line can the vitality of a religious faith be tested. Does faith result in ethical likeness of the one striving to be loyal and the one towards whom the loyalty is directed? Then it is real. This is the only test that should determine with whom a Christian should enter into fellowship. All those who show ethical loyalty to Jesus should be admitted into the Christian fellowship, which means sharing the pulpit and the fellowship table. This is vastly different from asking an individual to be loyal to a particular explanation about Jesus. Children often give queer and divergent explanations about their parents. They

can love them with equal loyalty nevertheless. If they could not the world would be a sorry place. Simple people can be loyal to Jesus even when floundering in the meanings of the creeds. What creed ever made Jesus more worthy of human loyalty? They do add to human wonder about him. But they do not necessarily increase human love for him. And they have signally failed to show his followers how to teach the world to love like him.

Only personal loyalty to Jesus will lead Christians out of the confusion of their explanations about him and their relations to one another into a single-hearted determination to live and love like him. That is what China wants of the missionary. For the simple-minded and the masses this is especially significant. Men are not able to follow Jesus on the basis of the conflicting theories of the minority of intellectually capable Christians. Loyalty must be put into terms of life, not of metaphysics. Seen through the creeds the spiritual attractiveness of Jesus becomes blurred. Seen through the battle over the creeds it becomes faint. But when seen, as one may see the sun unhidden by clouds, loyalty to him insures self-vitalization, self-realization and adequate and safe standards for self-expression.

But Christians must needs live with one another and with their non-Christian contemporaries. Western Christians must needs continue to live and work in China if Christianity is to become truly international. Furthermore they must live with Chinese Christians who feel the same urge to self-realization and self-expression as themselves. The primitive churches were self-determining but they called for no financial help from other churches in connection with the expression of that self-determination. Many self-determining Chinese Christians will probably need such help. Modern western Christian churches who desire to serve them have thus a problem for which no primitive precedent exists. Furthermore the whole world of men is seeking for new economic and political relationships. What predominant value can Christians contribute to this situation? Western Christians have thought and talked of their contributions to China overmuch in terms of buildings, funds and numbers of men. That is not their chief contribution. What is? What but the spirit of Jesus, the spirit of cooperative companionship? Western Christians have spent more time and effort in seeking how to invest money and set up institutions in China than in seeking into the meaning of manifesting the spirit of Christ. Yet this is the one thing they must contribute or ultimately fail.

The whole world is up against problems, political, economic and religious, for which there are no precedents. Only a spirit of companionable cooperation will find the solutions of to-day which may perchance be the precedents of to-morrow. In the midst of the more than a hundred sects in China how shall we find the truth? Only by search-

ing for it in the spirit of Jesus! In no other way can the search be carried on! Jesus primarily gave the world a type of spiritual and ethical behavior. His followers have provided the theologians and the theologies. The Chinese have not walked this road. Christian history is strewn with unsolved problems of metaphysics and social effort. In the world men have to learn to work together long before they can think together in final terms. Only the spirit of Christ can induce co-operation under such conditions. And cooperative research and experimentation are only possible if men take them up in the spirit of co-operative companionship.

What would the spirit of Jesus mean if put into economic and political relationships? The question itself is dynamic! It is a lifting challenge! This spirit is not won through many clamorous resolutions or loud praying. It is the purity, moral assertiveness, sympathetic self-restraint and adventurous loving of his spirit that make Jesus attractive to eager souls. These can be learnt and practised even while men seek together the life-solutions for our modern days which he did not foretell. This spirit of cooperative companionship and determined seeking is a driving force the Christians need for themselves and must reveal to others. It will lift them above the devitalizing divergences of motive which now characterize much of their life and enable them to move towards solutions hitherto deemed impossible. We must have more determined searching for the meaning of the spirit of Jesus when applied to life and less effort to settle Christian thought problems in terms of those selected by one group. This is the basis of that Christo-centric broadmindedness taken as the subject of the first chapter of this book. Those who know the freedom of this spirit are truly free. That again is a dynamic thought!

If we can be single-heartedly loyal to God as known through and in Jesus, and be lifted through our days on his spirit, what practical regulative principle for future Christian world effort emerges? Simply that the Christian world movement must become the model effort to teach men how to *share life* by enabling them everywhere to share their experience and their goods.

In one sense the Christian world movement is the synthesis of East and West. It is a western effort to practise the ideal of brotherhood as set up by one of the East. The Chinese Church is developing a desire to pass out of the class of recipients of favors and share with others its heritage and their common tasks. By looking on world-wide Christian effort as a process of sharing work and fellowship Christians can embody more fully than ever before the principle of reciprocal love, a principle upheld by Chinese and Christian idealists alike. This reciprocal love is the keynote of Jesus' spirit. He gave freely what he had. He called on men to give their all to God, which really means to

share it with their fellows. For giving to God is not a matter of storing wealth up in great religious treasure houses but of enriching human lives.

Insofar as the missionary movement becomes a sharing movement, to that extent it will become permanent. China will always need western Christians, even though in time the Chinese Church can get along without their money. The West also needs what Chinese Christians can share with them. China still needs and calls for missionaries from the West. The West also needs missionaries from the East. Through such an exchange can world-wide fellowship and understanding be built up. The Message of Jesus has now gone round the world. Through a process of sharing it will enter more deeply into the heart of the world. Here is the basis and beginning of that new philosophy of missions, spoken of above, which time and experience must develop.

When we share with one another the heritage God has given all of us we need not talk in terms of superiority. If we search in the spirit of Jesus, that idealism and that personality which mean most to the upbuilding of our common life will become self-evident. Arguing for Jesus does not prove his worth. Being like him does. The best apologetic the world can have is a Christian movement which teaches it how life can be shared in the spirit of Jesus. In the spirit of Jesus must we learn to live together the God-centric life and work for a civilization in which to embody that experience.

Physical life is embodied in the most astounding organism man can conceive. The God-centric life must also have its appropriate world organism. God made man's body and mind. He has left it to man, in cooperation with himself, to *discover* a world organism fitted to the adequate expression of the spirit of Jesus. The parts of the body share life with each other. Likewise must those who enjoy the God-centric life share it with others. In all this Christians would be striving to reproduce the spiritual behavior of Jesus. This is reciprocal love in action. To find out how to share life, problems and treasures together, is to find out how to love together. To love together is to experience God together. To experience God together is a dynamic that will never fail. One needs not to stand on a superiority sand fort to enter into it. When we experience God together we search for truth in a way that binds but does not break our affection. God can take care of his part. When Christians all over the world approach God and their fellows in the spirit of a searching companionship, they will have put themselves where God can teach them together more than they have dreamed apart.

Personal loyalty to Jesus, cultivation of the spirit of reciprocal love and free sharing, these are the foundations of a spiritual democracy. To work with Chinese Christians in setting up this spiritual democracy

in China is the part western Christians now have in completing the naturalization of Christianity in China.

To give these Christian driving forces the first place in Christian effort in China will fit into Chinese psychology. Loyalty to ethical personalities is a keynote of their deepest philosophy. Loyalty is one prominent factor in family life. To call for a dominating loyalty to Jesus will be both understandable and meaningful to them. The spirit of reciproal love courses through much of their deepest searchings. To make this a keynote of world-wide relationships will link the message of Jesus to the best they know and seek. Cooperative sharing is one worthwhile aspect of their family life. To make it the basis of a new philosophy of international effort will help turn this family mindset into wider fields of experience and activity. In short, to give these old Christian driving forces their proper place of spiritual domination will speed up the naturalization of Christianity in China.

My imagination leaps with confidence over the tangles in which China and Christians therein are involved at present. When the Chinese Christian heart has realized its present, and, to some extent, passing aspirations, it will join with eager zeal in this task of setting up a spiritual democracy wherever men breathe, suffer and hope. To share in this western Christians need a dauntless conviction superior to that founded on their superority-conviction of the past!

Appendices

I.

NOTES ON CHINESE IDEAS OF THE SOUL AND IMMORTALITY.

ROSS[1] says that the ancient belief with regard to the soul was that there were three Hwun and seven P'o. The three Hwun are thus explained by the Taoists according to Doré. (1) The common life of animals and plants. (2) The senses which are common to men and animals. (3) The power to distinguish right and wrong. Of the P'o a common explanation is that it is yin or negative. Chu Hsi, the great interpreter of Confucianism, says that the "wun," by which he seems to mean the soul or mind, spirit or divine element of yang the male principle, on death returns to "Heaven," though whether this means "Heaven" in the sense of a place or a person is not clear. He gives as a matter of fact three definitions for the term "Heaven." The P'o, he says, which is the animal spirit or possibly the physical life, and the spirit or divine element of ying or the female principle, on death returns to earth. Chu Hsi's idea is somewhat similar to that in Ecclesiastics where it says that the dust returns to the earth and the spirit to God who gave it.[2] Chu Hsi[3] furthermore says that when a man dies his "wun" will be scattered. The problem of ancestor worship leads him to modify this by saying, "However, it will not be completely scattered." Modern Confucianists say that the Shen, which comes from the yang principle and which ancients said went to the higher regions, an idea which still seems to obtain among ordinary folk, vanishes at death. They also profess to have no belief in spirits, though still continuing the worship of ancestors. The solution offered for this difficulty, as proposed by Chu Hsi and possibly held by modern Confucianists, is, to use the translation of Dr. Y. Y. Tsu,[4] "That during ancestor worship there is a temporary reassembling of the scattered but not annihilated spirit elements." Wang Yang Ming,[5] however, goes farther than this. He seems to assume that "scholars" have the doctrine of immortality. He says, "Immortality is perhaps an accomplishment of Heaven and not the result of any strenuous effort on man's part." This is somewhat in contrast to the Taoist idea that immortality is humanly achieved and therefore conditioned by human effort or endowments. Thus is the instinctive human desire for permanence of being recognized by Confucianists.

1. The Original Religion of China, page 256.
2. Chapter 12:7.
3. The Chinese Recorder, (Chinese Text), May, 1919, page 305.
4. The Chinese Recorder, (Chinese Text), May, 1919, page 305.
5. The Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming, Henke, page 363.

A more popular view is that the Shen goes to the higher regions and that the natural soul, which comes from the Ying principle or earth, returns after death and is the ghost. A still more common idea is that there are three souls, (1) that in the ancestral tablet, (2) that in the body, and (3) that one which goes to the realm of spirits to be rewarded or punished. This is of course a modification of the three "hwun" theory. Somewhat in contradistinction is the Buddhist idea (通鑑綱目, 佛以人死其(精神)常存) "Buddhism teaches that when a man dies his Ching Shen continues to exist for ever." Mateer says this "Ching Shen" is a synonym for soul. This seems to imply that the soul is a unity, though whether that unity or individuality continues permanently after death the laity and the expert would seem to disagree; the laity thinking of this soul in the Western Heavens as continuing its individuality under more felicitous conditions, while the experts (as for instance the *Abbot of Pu T'o* in a conversation with Dr. R. F. Fitch, January 5, 1921) aver that this individuality is merged into that of Amyto. If for some, still holding to the Hinayana doctrines, it finally passes to Nirvana in the extreme sense of annihilation, then its individual personality ends. Buddhist ideas of Nirvana, however, differ. Some in contrast to what has been said above think of it in terms of eternal "bliss unspeakable." Viewed from this angle it is a state of being that cannot be expressed in terms of human experience, which idea does not necessarily involve the annihilation of the individual.

Usually punishment for sin is thought of by Buddhists as temporary. According to the doctrine of metempsychosis the sinner eventually wins his way out of the chain of evil and passes into or onto the road to Nirvana by reason of his efforts in the right moral direction supplemented by the vicarious efforts of the Boddhisattvas. Sometimes, however, even punishment for sin is thought of as eternal. Certain evildoers may be finally debarred from metempsychosis. Thus they cannot pass into a new state of existence.[1] Again the Buddhist monk Hwa-yen (6th century A.D.) said that some sins cannot be remitted, with the result that the sinner will "suffer the torments of Hades for ever."[2] These two instances are in conflict with Dorè's statement that the Buddhists look on punishment for sin as temporary.[3] One other idea as to the passing of the soul may be noted. Rev. G. Miles[4] says that certain vegetarian sects hold that the soul may leave the body by any one of seven exits, the exit through which it passes on death predetermining its future state. Of the exit that means most he says,

1. Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Dorè, Vol. VII, page 263.
2. Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Dorè, page 528.
3. Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Dorè, page 528, note.
4. The Chinese Recorder, January, 1902, page 7.

"The Holy Germ is produced which wends its way up the spine and goes out through the ting men" (頂門), which appears to be in the head, and so makes its way direct to the Western Paradise, where it enjoys eternal felicity. This is a modification of the Buddhist idea. It assumes the continuance of individuality.

All of these theories recognize the desirability and possibility of the duration of the individual personality after death. But whether or not such duration is always conscious is not clear. In other words these theories assume that personal existence continues in some way after death. While in most cases they do not define the soul, yet they certainly make a soul essential.

II.

LAWS AND COMMANDMENTS.

I. The Nine "Crimes" of Phenix Village, as given in "Country Life in South China," Kulp, page 318, are:—

(1) Murder, distinguished as accidental or deliberate.
(2) Sex offenses, adultery, rape, fornication.
(3) Theft, nibbling, gang robbery, theft within the village, and theft without the village.
(4) Injury to another's body, property, honor, or ancestral graves.
(5) Kidnapping boys, girls, others' wives, or men to be sold as slaves to foreign countries.
(6) Unfilial conduct, such as beating one's parents, starving them or otherwise ill-treating them.
(7) Neglect of ancestral worship.
(8) Insulting the sib leaders by word or deed.
(9) Failure to pay taxes.

II. Ten crimes are given in "The Government of China," Hsieh, page 218. These are said to occupy in Chinese law a position equal to that of the Decalogue in Christianity.

(1) Treason, rebellion against the reigning dynasty.
(2) Destruction or impairment of imperial property, particularly sacrificial property.
(3) Betraying the country to a foreign country.
(4) Beating parents, grandparents or other senior relatives, plotting against, or killing them.
(5) Homicide.
(6) Stealing, or imitating things of imperial style.
(7) Lack of filial piety, scolding parents, not supporting or entertaining them full-heartedly, not wearing mourning clothes for full period, etc.

(8) Cruelly killing, beating, or bringing lawsuit against a family superior.
(9) Unrighteousness—a subject killing an official, a private soldier killing an officer, an inferior official killing a superior, a pupil killing a teacher, not mourning over the death of a husband.
(10) Illegitimate sexuality with a family superior.

III. The five commandments of the Buddhist laity.

(1) Not to destroy life.
(2) Not to steal.
(3) Not to commit adultery.
(4) Not to tell lies.
(5) Not to drink intoxicants.

III.

NOTES ON CHINESE THEORIES OF HUMAN NATURE

Kauh Tsz (告子), contemporaneous with Mencius, said, "Human nature is like a willow: righteousness is like a 'fruit basket' made of willow. To make human nature into benevolence and righteousness is like using willow to make a 'fruit basket'." This means that human nature is plastic and potential for good or evil in accordance with the influences that impress themselves upon it. This same writer says that human nature is like water in a torrent which flows as governed by the shape of the river bed and can be deflected either East or West as the contour of the country demands. Its course is not predetermined by the nature of the water. Thus human nature cannot be divided into good or evil any more than water has either an Eastern or a Western tendency.

Hsün Tsz (荀子) (Died 235 B.C.) said, "Man's nature is evil: the good it does is forced and false: good is done for the profit therein: the evil is easy and natural. Law and education are needed to curb and lead aright this evil spirit."

Mencius said, "Man's nature is good. Evil arises from following bad example. It is as natural for man to do good as for water to run down hill."

Han Yü (Born A.D. 768) held that men are not all born alike, some being innately good, some innately evil, and others, compounded of the two. He thought he reconciled the teachings of Mencius and Hsün Tsz, and for a time his doctrine was accepted.[1]

1. Couling, Encyclopedia Sinica, page 225.

IV.

NOTE ON CHU HSI'S THEORY OF MORAL EVIL.[2]

Chu Hsi seems to think of moral evil as the imperfection inherent in finite things. The cause or explanation of this is apparently the incomplete manifestation or expression of the "nature" or "world ground" through "matter." This might be taken as a stage on the road of the self-revelation of the "nature." It follows that the less dense the "matter" or "ether" the clearer the manifestation of the "nature." This "nature" is considered ethical. Man's personal endowments or ethical nature would thus vary with the density of the medium or "ether" elements which compose the natural part of him and through which this "ethical nature" is being manifested. Thus in Chu Hsi's system we have what is essentially a theory of immanence. The point of origin of human moral evil might, therefore, be either:—

1. The difference of the density of the medium through which "nature" or the "world ground" reveals itself, or

2. A difference in the amount of effort put forth to reveal itself on the part of the "nature"/or "world ground."

The second explanation would make moral evil arise in the volition of the "nature" or the "world ground." This is specifically denied. The first would seem to make it simply a question of the amount of "matter" or "ether" involved, or of the degree of opaqueness or transparency of the human "nature" through which the ethical "nature" expresses itself. Sin might, therefore, vary:—

(*a*) According to individual ability or the original endowment, or

(*b*) According to the amount or density of the matter through which the "nature" operates.

I am inclined to think that Chu Hsi, as in general Confucianists, think of moral evil as varying somewhat with individual capacity and intellectuality. Since men certainly do not determine their individual capacity nor decide to what extent "nature" or the world ground shall reveal itself through them, they can, therefore, hardly be held fully resposible for the evil arising from their inherent incapacity. This theory, if understood, might weaken man's sense of moral obligation. On the other hand the deterioration or development of the original degree of the fundamental ethical nature in each individual is dependent on the moral effort of the individual. While, therefore, the individual cannot be blamed for any variations in degree of his ethical nature he is responsible for what he does with it.

2. Vide "Philosophy of Human Nature" and "Chu Hsi and His Masters," Bruce.

V.

NOTES ON THE RELATION OF BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN PSYCHOLOGY.

I. *The "Contemplative" and "Pure Land Sects."*

There is considerable correspondence between the psychology of two Buddhist sects in China and Japan, the "Contemplative Sect" and the "Pure Land Sect," and that of at least one aspect of Christianity. In China the "Contemplative Sect" is called "Ch'an," in Japan "Zen." In China the "Pure Land Sect" is called "Ching T'u" and in Japan "Jodo" and "Shin." In Japan the original "Pure Land Sect" which entered Japan from China was modified: the "Shin" was its later form. Both the "Contemplative" and "Pure Land Sects" arose in connection with Mahayana Buddhism. Both sects are very popular. In China the "Contemplative Sect" has practically absorbed all the other Buddhist sects. Furthermore it has entered into very close alliance with the "Pure Land Sect," in which centers the worship of Amita, originally a mythical being now ruling over the Western Heaven. He is also called Amitabha, O Mi To Fu and, in Japan, Amida. Chi Lo Kia Chen, who came to China in A.D. 147, and worked at the monastery of the White Horse in Loyang, seems to have been the first to introduce the name of Amitabha to Chinese Buddhists. The name appears also in a list of 1,000 fictitious Buddhas introduced by Nepala Mohayana Schlaber, 300 A.D. The "Contemplative Sect" was started in 526 A.D. by Tamo, the twenty-eighth Buddhist patriarch. Tamo is quite a favorite in China. It was the teachings of the northern division of this sect which entered Japan in 729 A.D. and became the basis of the "Zen." The "Pure Land Sect" is said to have been started by a native of Shansi in the fourth century. Its close association with the "Contemplative Sect" has greatly modified that school. The "Pure Land Sect" is often spoken of as the "Amidist School." Most educated modern monks in China prefer to belong to the "Contemplative Sect." The "Pure Land Sect" is most popular with the masses. The "Jodo" or "Pure Land Sect" was organized in Japan by Honan Shonin. The "Shin," the modification of the original Pure Land Sect spoken of above, was organized by Shinran Shonin later. Amita is said by some to be the most popular Buddha in China. It is also said that a pure Amidist cannot be found, which indicates again the close association existing between the "Contemplative" and the "Pure Land" Sects. In connection with the "Pure Land Sect" we find ideas of purgatory and ceremonies for the deliverance of the dead from pain and misery. With the crude superstition developed at this point we need not deal. Such saving ceremonies are not consistently held to be necessary, as faith in "Amita" alone is sometimes said to be sufficient for the saving of the

unhappy dead. In addition the idea is held that punishment for sin is not eternal.

The popularity of these two sects makes their religious psychology of especial interest to the Christian worker who seeks to change their beliefs or the direction of their devotion.

II. *Certain Elements of Religious Psychology Found in Connection with the "Contemplative" and "Pure Land" Sects.*

It is quite likely that not all devotees of these two sects exhibit every feature of this psychology. But the ideas given seem to be generally held. They should certainly be noted by Christian workers.

(1) The Supreme Absolute or Supreme Buddha is incarnate in all things and persons. This provides a basis for spiritual equality and makes it possible even for men and women engaged in secular and family affairs to share the deepest religious experience. The "True Sect of Pure Land" (Japan) says, "All people are children of Amida's mercy, and are 'brothers, friends and comrades in faith'."

(2) In the "Zen Sect" applicants for baptism have to repent of and confess their sins. They must admit that all the evils they have committed are due to avarice, self-satisfaction and folly. Finally they must promise not to cherish any evil thought or be tempted by passions. I am not sure that these vows or ceremonies are given in China. F. C. M. Wei, in an article on "Salvation by Faith and the Pure Land Sect," says, "that this sect knows no repentance." He is of course speaking of China. Kenneth J. Saunders says, "Yet works as well as faith are demanded of the candidates for the "Pure Land Sect."

(3) Considerable emphasis is laid on obtaining salvation by pure faith. This faith, according to some, is implanted in man by Amita, as men are unable even to desire salvation alone. This when pushed to its logical conclusion might be a basis for universal predestination. Calling on the name of Amita is sometimes spoken of as the chief factor in obtaining salvation and, at other times, as an act of gratitude for the salvation which has been obtained by the pure faith inspired, of course, by Amita's mercy. Amita, by virtue of his own merit, enables men by one act of faith to enter Paradise. An ancient priest in Japan is thus quoted. "It is only when we trust ourselves entirely to the mercy of Amida that we are delivered from evil. This alone is the true way of salvation." Looked at in this way salvation rests on faith alone and not on works. Men are not saved by mental or moral effort. But Honen Shonin said, "The pure work for being born into Paradise is to call upon his name." That seems to make the calling upon Amita a "*work* of faith." However, the main emphasis is upon faith, though Honen has done what some Christians have done, made a form of expressing faith a "work" or necessary act for salvation. The founder

of the "Pure Sect of the Pure Land" went to Honen, who said to him, "You have been trying to save yourself: have faith in Amida, the lord of excellent life and light." Shinran himself later said, "By faith and faith alone must men be saved; even the desire for salvation was put in man's heart by the mercy of Amida." One thus saved by faith needs not to do penance for himself or others. Faith in Amita alone is sufficient.

(4) Amita sacrificed his own blissful consummation in order to save others. Amita is a Boddhisattva, one of those Buddhist beings who having achieved the right to enter the Nirvana of final bliss turned back therefrom in order to help others. One tradition tells of a mythical being who thus "renounced this peace and chose the Western Paradise as his own, taking a vow to save all who would call upon his name. The sacrifice here made was not one of earthly comfort or benefit, but of the soul's final state of bliss. And while the Western Heaven over which Amita rules is looked upon as a delectable state it is not apparently looked on as equal to Nirvana. For many of the Boddhisattvas this sacrifice is apparently only temporary. But for Amita it seems to be permanent. This sacrifice was born of love.

(5) Spiritual communion with Amita is possible.

Honen said, "Amida communes with those who possess his vow in their hearts: not with others." The "Contemplative Sect" in China emphasizes the possibility of experiencing Buddha in the heart. The same sect in Japan stresses the unity of the individual with the Absolute Buddha. Thus mystic union with the Buddha is possible. This experience of Amita in the heart (Japan) is one which leads men to a consciousness of the boundless mercy of the Absolute.

(6) Amita is a spiritual conception.

Two ways of looking upon Amita are given. (1) The Amita of reason is the Absolute, the universal Buddha. (2) The Amita of the practical religious life is a spiritual personality, the savior of mankind. The "Zen" stresses the practise of the presence of the Absolute.

(7) Peace.

One important result of this faith is peace.

(8) Devotional methods.

Meditation and prayer are means for developing the religious life.

(9) The end of the soul's wandering and faith is a heaven of peace and satisfaction, where apparently some think that consciousness and personality are preserved.

III. *Summary.*

We have then in Amitism a pure and spiritual personality who is both the object and author of faith. He is able to deliver and save men through one act of faith in him on their part. In order to do this

he made a great sacrifice. All of this exemplifies his love. Men may enter into mystical communion with him. To such will come peace. Through him or in him men may also experience the Boundless mercy of Absolute Being. To those who put faith in him will come endless peace in the next life.

IV. *Some Contrasts With Christianity.*

Amita occupies a position in Buddhist thought very similar to that occupied by Christ in Christian thought. There are, however, some points of contrast.

(1) Christ is an historical person: Amita a speculative one apparently.

(2) Christ is the *goal* of man's moral effort as well as the *object* of his faith: Amita seems to be purely an object of faith. I have not seen any reference to ethical likeness to him.

(3) Christ has been identified with Deity. The identification of Amita with the Absolute Being is not as prominent as in the case of Christ.

(4) Amita for the most of his devotees seems to take the place of the Absolute Being. That has, of course, sometimes been true of Christ in his relation to God.

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VI.

MEANING OF TERM "SHEN" (神).

Based on "The True Meaning of the Word Shen," as found in the Chinese Imperial Thesaurus, (Pei-Wan-Yun-Foo) and translated by W. H. Medhurst (1849).

(1) Fairies. (2) Spirits present in nature-animism. (3) Spirit of man, (*a*) living, (*b*) dead. (4) Animal spirit—physical energy. (5) Essence of things. (6) Divine spirit—higher spirits. (7) Almost "life." (8) At times almost "mind."

VII.

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Index

A.

Abbot of Pu T'o, 204.
Amita, 209-211.
Analects, 102, 121.
Ancestor Worship, 56, 57, 59, 68, 176, 203, 204.
Anling, 107, 122, 123.
Anti-Christian Federation, The, 148.
Anti-Christian Movement, The, 147-150, 163.
Art, Chinese, 85: Western, 132.
Authority, Western love of, 192.
Autonomy, 172, 173.

B.

Banditry, 82.
Benefactors, 192.
Bible, The 169, 170.
Bodhisattva ideal, 112, 113.
Book of Changes, 49, 116.
Book of History (Shu Ching), 93, 125.
Book of Odes, 121-123.
Book of Rewards and Punishments, 107, 113.
Book of Rites, 49.
Brotherhood, 200, 201.
Buddha, 128, 144, 209, 210.
Buddhist Church, Hankow, 152.
Buddhist Commandments, 206.
Buddhist Revival, 152-154.
Buddhist Seminary, Nanking, 152.
Buddhists, Convention of, 152.

C.

Centenary Conference, The (1907), 176, 185.
Chang, C. S., 212.
Chang Chih Tung, 35.
Chang Tsai, 110.
Chao, Prof. T. C., 20, 44.
Chart of Chinese Ethics, 9, 39, 42, 44, 47, 107, 112, 140.
Chen, Prof. C. C., 30.
Chen Tsai (Tsai Chen), 93, 118, 119, 122.
Chen Tu-seu, 1.
Children, 64, 65.
Ching-ti, 34.
Chou, Duke of, 93, 118, 123.
Christian liberty, 185, 186.
Christian unity, 185.
Chu Hsi, 20, 34, 89, 92, 94-96, 98, 100-102, 110, 111, 115-119, 122-124, 134, 138, 139, 150, 203, 207.
Chuang Tzu, 93, 94, 100, 116, 117, 123.
Church, The Christian, 148, 169.
Clan system, 53-68.
"Clarion," The, 107, 122.
Communications in China, 16, 17.
Companionship with God, 125, 126, 142, 143, 180.
Companionship in marriage, 63, 67.
Compulsory religious instruction, 33, 34.
Concubinage, 59, 61, 62.
Confucian Church, 151.
Confucianism, 151, 152, 160.
Confucius, 11, 22, 29, 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 77, 78, 91, 94, 96, 100-102, 104, 105, 107-112, 116, 120-122, 129, 135, 139, 140, 149-151.
Contemplative Sect, the, 208-211.
Copyrights, 19.
Cowardice, 75.
Crime, 4.
Culture, Western, 132.

D.

Democratic government in China, 14-16.
Denominationalism, I, 34-36, 161, 184, 193, 194, 198.
Divorce, 55, 56.
Doctrine of the Mean, The, 48, 49, 90-92, 125, 163.
Drugs, 6, 80-82.
Drunkenness, 80.

E.

Eclectic Religious Movements, 154-162, 177, 178.
Education, 5, 133, 163-165, 169.
Empress Dowager, 129, 151.
Equality, human, 48-51, 66, 69, 135-137, 172.

F.

Faith, 209, 210.
Family, The, 7, 14, 31, 40, 41, 43, 44, 53, 136, 176, 183.
Famine, 18.

Fay, Rev. Donald, 156, 212.
Filial piety, 57, 64.
Force, physical, 26-29.
Four Principles' Society, The, 155.
Friendship, 109.

G.

Gautama, 112, 129.
God, II, III, 114-130, 160, 163-164, 199-201.
Golden Rule, The, 100-113.
Government in China, 14-16, 40.
"Government of China, The"—Hsieh, 205, 206.
Great Commission, The, 195, 196.

H.

Han Fei, 90.
Han Yü, 101, 102, 108, 206.
Homicide, 82, 83.
Honesty, 76.
Hsiao Liang-chen, 157.
Hsieh, 205.
Hsu Shih-chang, Ex-president, 155.
Hsün Tsz, 206.
Hu Shih, 22, 35.
Huai Nan Tzu, 28, 39, 40, 45.
Hui (Yen Yui), 96, 97, 112.
Human Nature, Chinese Theories of, 206, 207.
Humility, 191.
Hung, Professor William, 105.
Hwa-yen, 204.

I.

Ideals, artistic and cultural, 132: educational, 133: religious, II, III, 112, 113, 182, 183, 193.
Immorality, 62, 78-80.
Immortality, Chinese Ideas of, 203-205.
Individualism, 40-42.
Industrial conditions, 6.
International Morality Association, The, 157, 158.
International Union of the Six Sages, The (The Union of World Religions), 156-159.
Intolerance, 186.
Inventions, 5, 18, 19.

J.

Jails, 5.
Jesus Christ, the central personality, 144, 145.
Justice, 124.

K.

K'ang Chieh, 92.
K'ang Hsi, 77, 121-123, 128.
Kao Yaou, 21, 49.
Kau, Duke of, 111.
Kau Tzu (Tsz), 89, 141.
Kauh Tsz, 206.
King T'ang, 111.
Ku Liang, 56.
Kuan Yin Tzu, 122, 123.
Kuo Ming Tang, 169, 185, 187.

L.

Lao Tzu (Tze), 87-89, 91, 92, 94, 96-98, 112, 121, 151, 158, 177.
Laws and Commandments, 205, 206.
Leadership, a missionary motive, 195, 196.
League of Nations, 184.
Letterpost, 16.
Liang Chi-chao, 1, 6, 29, 91, 120.
Liu Ming Tseng, 158.
"Lore of Cathay, The", 9.
Love, 56, 94-96, 100-113, 124, 137, 138, 177, 185, 186, 191-193, 196, 200.
Loyalty to God, to Jesus, 193, 198-202.
Lun Tao Te (Moral Tract), 57.

M.

Marriage, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67.
Mechanical inventions, 5.
Mencius, 20-22, 27, 49-51, 56, 66, 68, 77, 89, 91, 94, 96, 98, 101, 104, 111-113, 116-118, 121, 125, 138, 141, 150, 183, 206.
Metempsychosis, 204.
Min Teh Hui, 155.
Missionary morale, 190.
Missionary motives, 194-197.
Mo Tzu, 1, 6, 29, 91, 92, 96, 100-102, 104, 107-109, 112, 115, 120, 123, 124, 138.
Moh, H. Y., 30.
Mysticism, Chinese, III.

N.

Narcotics, 6, 80-82.
National Christian Council of China, 165, 185.
National University, 149.
Nationalism, 162, 163.
Nestorian Movement, The, 167.
Newspapers, 16, 17.
Nieh, Mr. C. C., 133.
Nirvana, 204.

O.

Opium, 6, 80-82.
Organization, Western, 132.

P.

Paganism, 181.
Pastors, 37.
Personality, Ideas of, II, 36, 40, 64, 65, 109, 114, 135, 137, 144, 145, 163.
Phallicism in China, 181, 186.
Phenix Village, 14: the Nine Crimes of, 205.
Philanthropy, 184, 194.
Political discordance, 70.
Population, 12, 18.
Poverty, 17, 18.
Press, freedom of the, 5.
Propaganda, 164, 165.
Pure Hand Sect, 208-211.

R.

Racial superiority, 69, 71, 72, 140.
Railways, 17.
Rationalism, 148, 149, 162, 163.
Reforms, 4, 5.
Reliability, Chinese, 75.
Religious disunity, 24, 25.
Religious freedom and tolerance, 136, 149, 154, 170, 171, 185.
Religious instruction, 33, 34, 163-165.
Republican Daily News, The, 148.
Roman Catholics, 167.
Rules of the Disciples, The, 106, 140.

S.

Sacred Edict, 45, 140.
Salvation, 24, 33, 140-142, 161, 178-180, 195, 209, 210.
Santideve, 112.
Schools, Christian, 148, 163.
Science, 18-20, 71, 133, 143, 172.
Sectarianism, I, 34-36, 161, 184, 193, 194, 198.
Self-expression, a missionary motive, 195, 196.
Self-mastery, 75, 136.
Sex relations, 62-64, 78-80.
Shao Yung, 119.
Shun, 21, 49.
Shün Tsz, 141.
Simple life, The, 20.
Sin, 139-141, 204, 20.
Social life, 46.
Society for Purifying the Heart, The, 155.
Spirit of God, of Jesus, II, III, 199-201.
Ssu Ma Chien, 39.
Substitutionary atonement, 178-180.
Suffrage, 5.
Sun Yat Sen, 177.
Sung philosophers, 22, 23, 89, 92, 98, 115, 129, 163, 164.
Superiority complex, 181, 182, 184, 188-195, 197, 201, 202.
Superstition, III, 146, 108.
Supreme Being, The, II, III, 114-130, 160, 163, 164, 199-201.
Suzuki, 94.
Syncretism, I-III, 35, 36, 175, 176.

T.

Ta Chen Hui, 155.
Tai Ping-heng, 212.
T'ai-hsü, 36, 98, 152.
T'ai I, 158.
Tamo, 208.
T'ang, Mr., 81.
Tang Hsu Chang, 156, 157.
Tao Teh Hsioh She, 157, 160.
Tao Teh King, the, 87-92, 96, 119, 128.
Tao Yuan, 155, 158-160.
Taoism, 150, 151.
Tong Shan She, 155, 159.
Truth, The, 10-12, 45, 193.
Tsai Chen (Chen Tsai), 93, 118, 119, 122.
Ts'ai Yung, 125.
Tsu, Dr. Y. Y., 203.
Tu Tuan, 125.

U.

Union of World Religions, The (The International Union of the Six Sages), 156-162.
Universal Morality Association, 157, 158.
Universal Swastika Society, 158.
Universe, The, 85, 134, 143.

V.

Vairocana, 128.
Veracity, Chinese, IV, 77.

W.

Wang Yang Ming, 22, 23, 32, 36, 88, 101, 107, 108, 131, 139, 150, 203.
War, 6.

Wei, F. C. M., 209, 211.
Wen Ti, 35.
Women, position of, 5, 49, 61, 62, 65: in Eclectic Societies, 159.
World's Holy Religious Union, The, 156, 160.
Wu, of Chou, Emperor, 35.
Wu Shan She, 157.

Y.

Y. M. C. A., 147.
Yang Jen-san, 153.
Yen Hsi-chai, 155.
Yen Yui (Hui), 96, 97, 112.

Z.

Zia, Rev. Z. K., 103.

Errata.

P. 4, line 12. For "referred to in public as being, in proportion to the population, as bad if not worse in the United States than in China" read "referred to in public as being in the United States, in proportion to the population, as bad as if not worse than in China."
P. 16, line 9. For "dissapproval" read "disapproval."
P. 21, line 26. For "women" read "woman."
P. 24, line 3. For "grueling" read "gruelling."
line 28. For "particularily" read "particularly."
P. 25, line 12. For "around one Supreme Being in, and meaning of, the known universe," read "around one Supreme Being who is in, and gives at the same time an adequate meaning to, the known universe."
P. 31, line 5. For "cooperate" read "corporate."
P. 32, line 16. For "easier than" read "more easily than."
P. 56, line 31. For "it took sagely strength and wisdom to tread this way" read "it took the strength and wisdom of a sage to meet its requirements."
P. 71, line 22. For "as much if not more" read "as much as if not more."
P. 88, line 16 For "and that were accepted" read "and were accepted."
P. 98, line 26. For "later try show" read "later try to show."
P. 116, line 8. For "tern" read "term."
line 11. For "Neither discussed or" read "Neither discussed nor."
P. 126, line 22 and 23. For "parellelism" read "parallelism."
P. 127, line 10. For "ccresponds" read "corresponds."
P. 132, line 31. For "regards" read "regard."
P. 134, line 9. For "chi" read "Chi."
P. 146, line 37. For "neither—or" read "neither—nor."
P. 146, line 37. „ „ „ „ „
P. 148, line 23. For "These were" read "This was."
P. 153, line 14. For "sancrit" read "Sanscrit."
P. 156, line 7. For "1917-21" read "1917 to 1921."
P. 160, line 4. For "raprochement" read "rapprochement."

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